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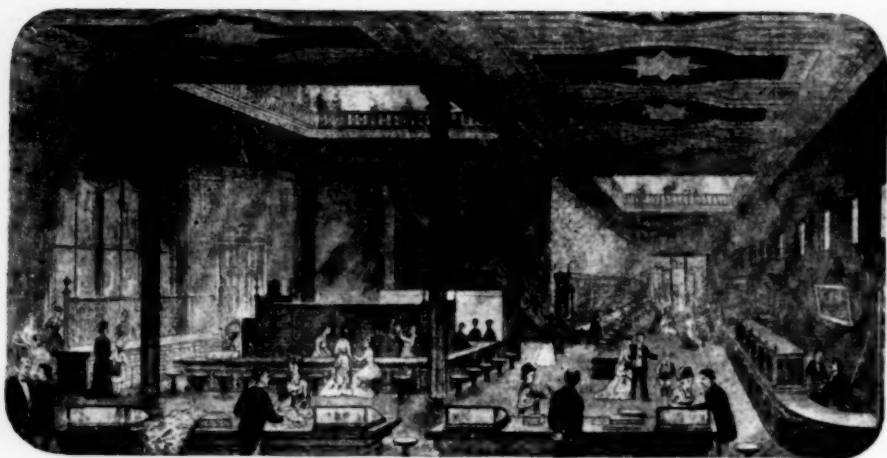
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

JUNE · 1946



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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XLI, No. 2

JUNE, 1946

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775 . <i>Elizabeth Merritt</i>	89
Thomas Jefferson in Annapolis . <i>Edith Rossiter Bevan</i>	115
How Ben Butler Saved "Old Ironsides" <i>Louis Taylor Merrill</i>	125
Politics in Maryland During the Civil War (Concluded) <i>Charles Branch Clark</i>	132
Reviews of Recent Books	159
Notes and Queries	171

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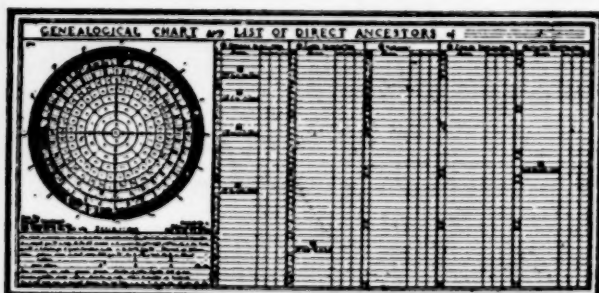
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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sundays.

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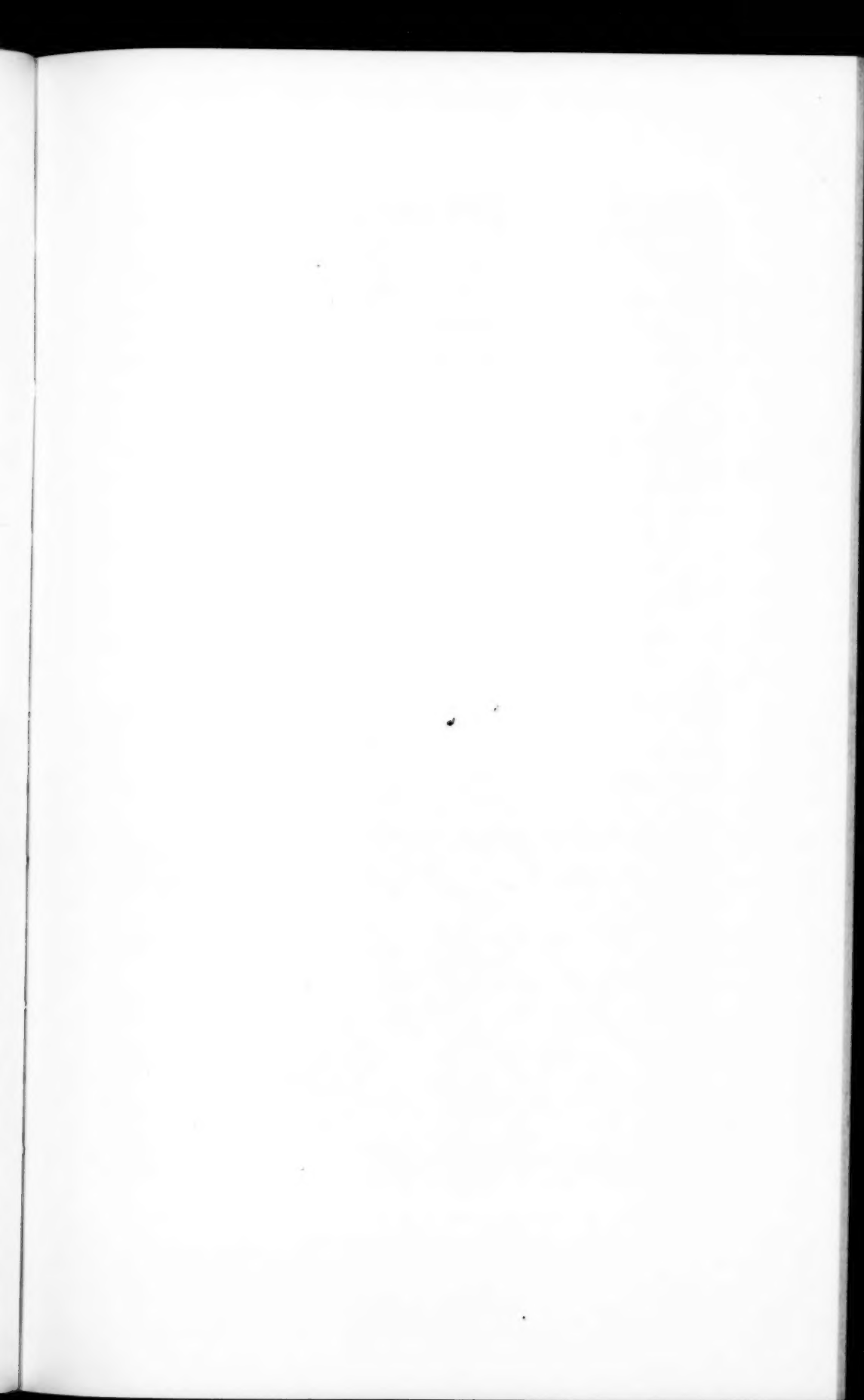
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Worcester

Wednesday Morning near 11 of the Clock

To all Friends of American Liberty be it known that
this Morning before break of Day a Brigade consisting of about
1000 or 1200 Men landed at Ship's Farm at Cambridge and marched
to Lexington where they found a Company of red Colonel's Militia
in Arms upon whom they fired without any provocation and killed
3 Men and wounded 15 others by an Express from Boston we
found that the Brigade are now upon their March from Boston
supposed to be about 1000. - The Beaver Trail Express is charged
to alarm the Country quite to Connecticut, and all persons are
desired to furnish him with fresh Horses as they may be needed. I
have spoken with several who have seen the Dead and Wounded.
Pray let the Delegates from this Colony to Connecticut see that
they know Col. Foster of Brookfield one of the Delegates -

I Palmer one of the

A true Copy taken from the Com^{tee} of 4
from the Original Order of the Com^{tee} of Correspondence for
Worcester - April 19th 1775. Mess^{rs} Nathan Badger Tom Clarke
Worcester April 19th 1775

Providence Thursday 11 Clock above is a true copy rec^d by
Express from Worcester -

Test Daniel Tyler Jun^r

Norwich Thursday 4 Clock the above is a true Copy as sent
by Express from Mr. Tyler Test Christopher Liffingwell -

New London Thursday Evening 7 Clock a true Copy as by Express

Rich^d Law
Sam^l H. Parsons
Nath^l Shaws Jun^r
William Coit } Com^{tee}

as rec^d
as y^e Friday Morning 1 Clock a true Copy

FIRST PAGE OF PALMER'S DISPATCH AS IT WAS RECEIVED IN BALTIMORE.



MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLI

JUNE, 1946

Number 2

THE LEXINGTON ALARM, APRIL 19, 1775:

MESSAGES SENT TO THE SOUTHWAID AFTER THE BATTLE

By ELIZABETH MERRITT



series of papers that show in detail how the news of the battle of Lexington was carried from the scene of the fighting to the southern colonies as far as Charleston, South Carolina, may fairly be regarded as a prize exhibit in the story of the United States.

Such messages are informal, written in haste, sometimes on scraps of paper, yet they fire the imagination. The Maryland Historical Society finds itself the happy possessor of the most nearly complete sequence of Lexington Alarm papers now known to exist.¹ The story of the alarm has been told in print, notably in Force's *Archives*,² and in an able article by John H. Scheide in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April, 1940.³ Since the Society's papers had not then been discovered and so were not used, it seems wise to present in these pages the full text of them, with an interpretation.

¹ This is no recent acquisition; the papers have been among the Society's manuscripts for many years.

² Peter Force, *American Archives*, ser. IV, vol. II, pp. 366-369.

³ Vol. 50, pp. 49-79.

Some months ago a routine examination of a big black box of miscellaneous manuscripts at the Society disclosed an account of the battle of Lexington written from nearby Watertown, Massachusetts, about 10 o'clock the morning of the battle. Here was a story of the fray written before the smoke had cleared away; it might justify a little research. That little quickly grew, and it ended in a story as interesting as Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride," and more important because it is a thing, not of poetry but of reality.

By mid-April, 1775, although war had not yet broken out, the British forces in the American colonies were fully armed and alert for trouble. The colonies all had committees of correspondence; Massachusetts was merely the first to organize one. If these committees fulfilled only their ostensible purpose of transmitting information, they could be used, and they were used, to draw the thirteen outwardly dissimilar colonies together. On the very early morning of April 19, 1775, in Lexington, a British force of about 1000 or 1200 men, that had marched from Cambridge during the night, met a Massachusetts militia company in arms. Shots were fired,⁴ and six Americans were killed and four more were wounded. That was the battle of Lexington.

About 10 o'clock, Deacon Joseph Palmer,⁵ a member of the Committee of Safety, and, safe but exhausted from the fray, sent off a note "To all Friends of American Liberty." His message, written from Watertown, was carried to Worcester and thence on southward. At each place where it stopped, it was copied and endorsed, and either the copy or the original was sent on to the next stop. Happily for those who read it today, the endorsements usually include the exact hour when the message arrived. The earliest paper the Society has was copied at Fairfield, Connecticut, for all the writing up to that point was done by the same person. At Fairfield the big double foolscap sheet was folded, sealed and addressed to Capt. Isaac Sears at New York. From New York on, the endorsements are originals, and the names are signatures.

⁴ See Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VI, 183. Historians cannot agree on who fired the first shot.

⁵ Palmer was born in England in 1716 and came to America in 1746. He was a card-maker for wool-carders, a glass maker, a factor for chocolate, spermaceti and salt; and besides being a man of substance, he was a leading patriot. He had been a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. After this battle he was made colonel, brigadier and then brigadier general in the state militia. He died in Dorchester in 1788.

From New Castle, Delaware, separate pieces of paper are used, with one or two endorsements on each. Palmer's message reached Baltimore on April 26, and was sent on to Annapolis, together with an offer of their services by several men whose names figure later in the history of the Revolution.

Meanwhile, from Wallingford, Connecticut, another and fuller, if less accurate, account of the battle was sent south on April 24. The dispatch followed the same route as the earlier one, for it was sent by the regular committee network, and, because it travelled faster, it got to Baltimore only one day later. Like the Watertown account, it was copied or endorsed at each stop; the Society's example was copied at Elizabeth, New Jersey, and was sent on with a cover letter from Fairfield.⁶ Both of these accounts went much farther south than Baltimore, but of that, more later.

Beside these two messages which did so much to touch off the general conflict, the big black box turned up fragments, more or less complete, of three or four others dated only a little later. Of two, the first letter in the series is gone; only the endorsements or the cover notes remain. One contains the spirited repartee between John McKinly of Wilmington, and Tobias Rudulph and Patrick Hamilton.⁷ They did not like Mr. McKinly's aspersions on the speed of the expresses⁸ in Maryland. New York sent out an account of the taking over of the Collector's office by the patriots, and suggested the sending of "a light Vessel immediately for England with a true State of the Facts." This news travelled the distance from Head of Elk to Baltimore in sixteen hours, when the average speed of the expresses while they were riding was about five miles an hour. The last news, which was sent out by Thomas Mumford from Hartford, Connecticut, on April 26 at three o'clock, told about General Gage's order to seize for the King's use all vessels found on the New England coast. Perhaps some of these vessels were owned in Baltimore. To that town came in quick succession a whole series of important dispatches; on April 26, the news from Watertown; April 27, from Wallingford; April 28, two more messages at different times; Sunday,

⁶ The cover letter was copied for the last time at Greenwich, Connecticut.

⁷ Rudulph was the committeeman for Head of Elk, now Elkton. Patrick Hamilton held the same post at Charles Town, Cecil County.

⁸ In those days an express was the courier, the rider who carried the correspondence. Sometimes a writer will say that he talked with the express who had just arrived.

April 30, news of martial action in New York; May 2, news of the danger to shipping. That must have been an exciting week for the Baltimore committee.

Although none of the endorsements on any of the alarms that the Society has takes the story farther south than Annapolis, it can be carried by contemporary printed copies and by other original manuscripts⁹ clear down to Charleston, South Carolina. As the news came down southwards with more or less speed, it spread out in all directions almost as rapidly. The first endorsement on the Watertown alarm reads: "A true Copy taken from the Original p^r Order of the Com^{ee} of Correspondence for Worcester April 19th 1775." Since it was a copy, where is Palmer's original? It must have stayed in Worcester, and the chances are that it served to originate other copies to towns not on the direct line to the south. The same thing happened all the way on down. By the time the Society's alarm was copied at Fairfield, it had been copied seven times. By April 22 Palmer's message was printed in a handbill¹⁰ at Norwich, where it arrived late in the afternoon of April 20. It arrived in New York at 2 o'clock Sunday afternoon, April 23, and was at once printed in a handbill.¹¹ It got to Philadelphia on Monday, April 24, at 5 P. M., and was printed in a handbill by W. & T. Bradford.¹² It reached Baltimore April 26, where Mary Katharine Goddard printed a broadside of it. In Williamsburg Alexander Purdie did the same.

Newspapers also seized upon the interesting news. One Philadelphia paper, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, carried the text of the handbill on April 25; two more, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Journal*, on April 26. The *Maryland Journal and the Baltimore Advertiser* printed the text on April 26. This effectively dates the handbill, since Mary Katharine Goddard printed both of them. The Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* printed it on April 27; the Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* on April 29,

⁹ One such manuscript is now owned by William H. Scheide, Titusville, Pennsylvania. It would be impossible to overestimate the kindness and the interest shown by Mr. Scheide in the present enquiries. He supplied a full photostat of his copy, and of the message written by General McDougall on the back of a New York handbill.

¹⁰ This handbill is not listed in Evans' *American Bibliography*.

¹¹ The manuscript is endorsed "4 P. M.", but General McDougall's account, mentioned above, says it got there at 2 P. M., and that the committee met at 4 o'clock.

¹² Evans, 14397. The Maryland Historical Society has two copies.

in a special supplement.¹³ In North Carolina, the *New Bern North Carolina Gazette* for May 12 printed both the Watertown and the Wallingford dispatches. The Wallingford dispatch received the same sort of printed publicity that the earlier one had had. If the purpose of sending both of these accounts as far as South Carolina was not so much to get help for the men of Lexington as to stir up the people who were not yet aware of their unity or ready for independence, then the more exciting Wallingford story was the better of the two.

Of all these messages and copies and reprints of messages, much has disappeared, but much remains. Beside the Watertown copy-original that the Maryland Historical Society has, there is a short form, written at Norwich on one side of a single sheet of paper, and carrying but two endorsements, one from Worcester and one from Brooklyn, Conn.¹⁴ Another short form is in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan. It was copied for Silas Deane and seems to have been sent by him to Capt. Philip Mortimer. A fourth form, of which only facsimile can now be found, was made in Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, where the express had been ordered to stop "and acquaint the Committee with the foregoing particulars." Apparently it was copied there for the use of the Committee of Safety, for, beside Palmer's message, it contains only the briefest notations of the way it had come and the time it had arrived at each place.¹⁵ A fifth copy, now believed to be the only other one remaining, appears to have been copied in Trenton from that of the Society. This one, since 1873 in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has most of the errors of the Society's copy and adds a few misspellings of names. Proper names that a Fairfield man would know how to spell might easily be misspelled by a copier in Trenton. The first express was Israel Bissel, the regular Boston-New York rider; by Fairfield, he had become IRAEL Bissel; by Trenton he was TRAIL Bissel. This Philadelphia copy, which was bought at auction in New York in 1873 and presented promptly to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is by all odds the best known one, and the one most often copied and reproduced. It is printed in 1829 in Hazard's *Register*.¹⁶ This

¹³ Evans, 14628.

¹⁴ This copy is owned by Mr. W. H. Scheide, and, so far as is known, it had not been reproduced anywhere until it appeared in the article already cited, by his father, Mr. John H. Scheide.

¹⁵ Scheide, *loc. cit.*, 67-68.

¹⁶ Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, III, 175 ff.

relationship is undeniable, for the original bears written on it the note that it was delivered to Hazard, senior, by one of the Committee. It is printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for 1873,¹⁷ shortly after it had been presented to the Society. It is reproduced in reduced facsimile in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*¹⁸ in 1903. Which of the two, the Philadelphia or the Maryland Historical Society copy, served as the source of the handbills and newspaper accounts is uncertain, for the two manuscripts are nearly identical.

The Wallingford message, which went so much farther and faster, remains in two copies. One is owned by Mr. Scheide. This, which seems to have been the original used by Peter Force¹⁹ and possibly by Robert W. Gibbes also,²⁰ was copied in Baltimore by John Boyd, clerk of the Committee, from the copy that the Society has, for the names up to Baltimore are copies, and those beginning at Annapolis are signatures. The endorsements go down as far as New Bern, North Carolina. The Society's copy was made at Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, for, from there on, the names are signatures. Some of the endorsements or cover notes add an entertaining vividness to the story, and they have not been known before. Because the Wallingford letter got through to Charleston, it is natural to look for an original in South Carolina, and perhaps one was there once. Dr. Gibbes gave his documents to the State, but only endorsements are to be found now. Some of the records of the State were lost during the War between the States; others have been undoubtedly lost since then; for many years people had unrestricted access to the papers at all times. The Historical Commission at Columbia now has most, but not all, of the notes or endorsements from Alexandria, Virginia, to Georgetown, South Carolina, as well as the wrapper of the message sent from Georgetown to Charles Town (Charleston), May 10. 1775.

Because of the nature and interest of the alarm papers, search for more originals, both manuscript and printed, was made. Of manuscripts, the Huntington Library, the Historical Society of South Carolina, the South Caroliniana Library of the University, and the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress have

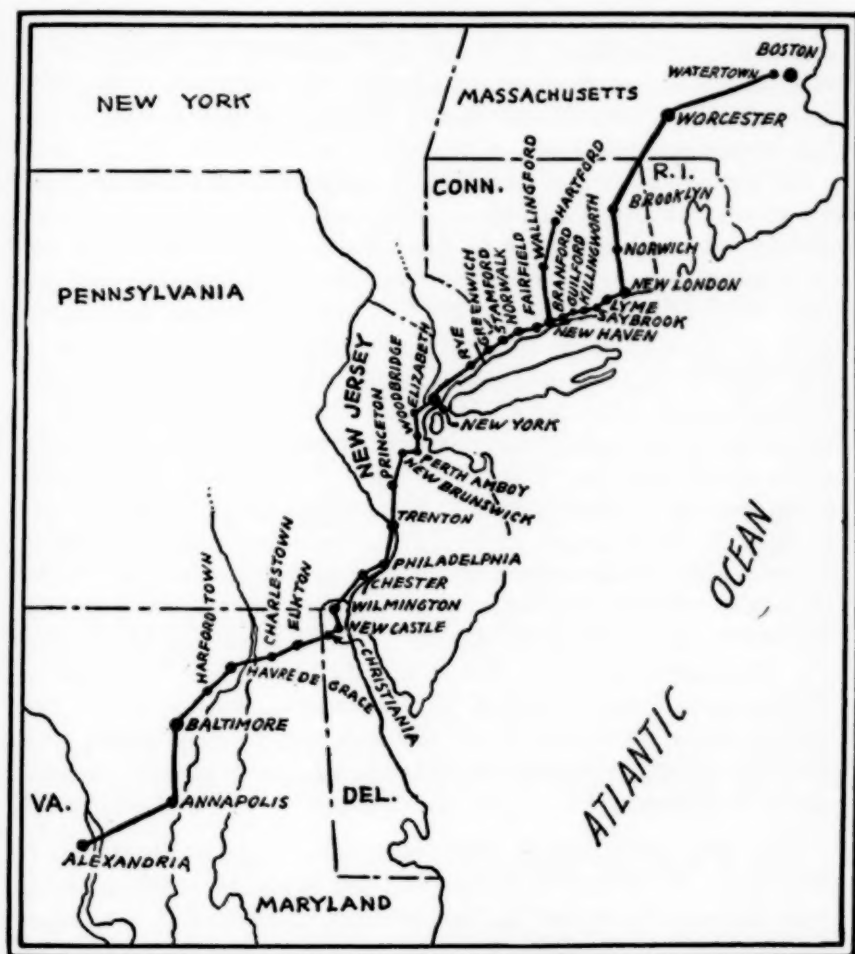
¹⁷ Vol. XXVII, pp. 434-435.

¹⁸ Vol. XXVII, pp. 258-261.

¹⁹ Force, *American Archives*, Ser. IV, II, 366-369.

²⁰ Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, I, 82-91.

²¹ A. S. Salley to Elizabeth Merritt, April 23, 1945. A. L. S. 2 pp.



SKETCH MAP SHOWING ROUTE TRAVELLED BY "EXPRESSES"
WITH THE NEWS FROM LEXINGTON.

nothing. It is surprising that the Library of Congress reports nothing, for it has the papers of Peter Force, who printed both the Watertown and the Wallingford alarms, with many of the endorsements. But search through several bundles of transcripts and press copy, apparently for Series IV, volume II, did not reveal any originals, and many citations were unsatisfactory or entirely lacking. The John Carter Brown Library of Brown University has no manuscript.

Of the handbills that proliferated from the letters as they came on down towards Charleston, more remain. The John Carter Brown Library has a copy of the New York broadside²² of the Watertown message, and so have the Library of Congress and the New York Historical Society. So, too, has Mr. Scheide, and on the back of his copy there is written an account of the reception of the Watertown news in New York, by General Allexander McDougall, of the Committee. The Philadelphia broadside²³ exists in a number of copies, of which the Society has two. One apparently came down with the Watertown alarm,²⁴ the other was sent by Isaac Melcher of Philadelphia to Robert Purviance. Since this copy is dated Wilmington, April 24, 1775, the date of printing is established. The Goddard handbill printed in Baltimore is not in the Society's collection; the Library of Congress copy is the only one located by either Evans or Wroth.²⁵ The Wallingford alarm, like the Watertown one, gave rise to broadsides in New York and in Philadelphia,²⁶ but no copies of them can be located now. The Society has a broadside of the dispatch sent by Isaac Sears (not Bears or Beers) and others to Philadelphia, and sent on southward down to Baltimore.²⁷

The first alarm begins with the double foolscap sheet that is item (1). Following it is a copy of the Bradford handbill which was enclosed in the next paper. Because this handbill is substantially a copy of the Palmer message already given, it will not be reprinted here. The second manuscript sheet, item (2) as printed below, begins with a note from John Thompson to Samuel Patter-

²² Evans, 14337.

²³ Evans, 14397.

²⁴ See page 100 below (John Thompson to S. Patterson, Newcastle, April 25, 1775).

²⁵ Evans, 13819. Lawrence C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, no. 345.

²⁶ Evans, 14338, 14398, 13856.

²⁷ Evans, 13820. For the originals, see pp. 109-110 below.

son. Item (3) is a small piece of paper that Patterson used to inform Col. Cooch, though the Colonel wrote his message to Tobias Rudolph on the preceding sheet (item 2, above). The next bit of paper, item (4) is also small; it carries but one note. The last of this series, item (5), is a large double sheet; it has but one rather short note and presumably, from the address and from the creases and the colour of the paper, it served to enclose all that went before it when forwarded to the Baltimore Committee now convened at Annapolis.

(1)

Wednesday Morning near 10 Of the Clock

Wartertown

To all Friends of American Liberty be it known that this morning before break of Day a Bridgade consisting of about 1000 or 1200 Men landed at Phip's Farm at Cambridge and marchd to Lexington where they found a Company of our Colony Malitia in Arms upon whom they fired without any provocation and killd 6 Men and wounded 4 others. by an Express from Boston we find another Bridgade are now upon their March from Boston supposed to be about 1000—The Bearer Irael Bissel is charged to alarm the Country quite to Connecticut; and all persons are desired to furnish him with fresh Horses as they may be needed; I have spoken with several who have seen the Dead and Wounded—Pray let the Delegates from this Colony to Connecticut see this they know Col Foster of Brookfield One of the Delegates—

J Palmer One of the
Com^{ee} of S——y

A true Copy, taken from the
from the Original Pr Order of the Com^{ee} of Correspondance for Worcester—April 19th 1775. Attest Nathan Balding Town Clerk
Worcester April 19th 1775

Brooline ²⁸ Thirsday 11 Clock above is a true Copy rec^d Pr Express forwarded from Worcester—

Test Daniel Tyler Jun^r—

Norwich Thirsday 4 Clock the above is a true Coppy as sent Pr Express from M^r Tyler

Test Christopher Leffingwell—

New London Thirsday Eving 7 Clock a true Copy as Pr Express

Rich^d Law
Sam^l H Parsons
Nath^l Shaw Jun^r Com^{ee}
William Coit

²⁸ Brooklyn, Conn., in the eastern part of the State.

Lyme Friday Morning 1 oClock, a true Copy as rec^d Pr Express

John Lay 2^d
John McCurdy
Will^m Noyes Comtee
Sam^l Mather Jun^r

Say Brook Fryday Morning 4 oClock a true Copy as rec^d Pr Express

Sam^l Field
John Cochran Comee
Ric^d Dickenson

Killingworth Fryday Morn 7 oClock forwarded as rec^d Pr Express

George Eliot
Sam^l Gale Comee

E Guilford Fryday Morning 8 Clock. forwarded as rec^d Pr Express

Timothy Todd
Isaac Knight Comttee

Guilford Friday Morning 10 oClock forwarded as rec^d Pr Express

Sam^l Brown David Landon Comee

Branford Friday 12 oClock noon Rec^d and forwarded Pr

Sam^l Barker One of the Comee

New Haven April 21st Rec^d and forwarded upon certain intelligence

Pr Sam^l Bishop
Joseph Munson
Tim^o Jones—Jun^r
David Austin.— Comtee
Isaac Doolittle.
Daniel Lyman—

Fairfield Saturday 22^d April 8 Clock forwarded as rec^d pr Express from
N Haven

G Selleck Silliman
Thad^s Burr
Job Bartram Comtee
Andrew Rowland
Jonⁿ Sturges

Since the above written we rec^d the following by second Express:

Thirsday 3 Clock Afternoon P. M.

S^r

I am this moment informed by an express from Woodstock taken from the Mouth of the Express that arrived there two of the Clock Afternoon that the Contest between the first Bridgade that marched to Concord was still continuing this Morning at the Town of Lexinton to which said Bridgade had ~~returned~~ retreated. That another Bridgade, said to be the second mentioned in the Letter of this Morning, had Landed with a Quantity of Artillery at the place where the first did—The provincials were

determined to prevent the two Brigades from joining their strength if possible and remain in great need of Succor.

NB. The Regulars when in Concord burnt the Court House took two pieces of Cannon, which they rendered useless; and began to take up Concord Bridge; on which Cap^t ——— who with many on both sides were soon killed, then made an Attack upon the King's Troops, on which they retreated to Lexington

I am Hume^e Serv^t
Eb: Williams

Col^l Obadiah Johnson
Canterbury.

P. S. Mr McFarland of Plainfield Merchant has just returned from Boston by Way of Providence, who conversed with an Express from Lexington who further informs, that about 4000 of our Troops had surrounded the First Brigade above mentioned, who were on a hill in Lexington; that the Action continued, and there were about 50 of our Men killed, and 150 of the Regulars as near as they could determine when the Express came away, it will be expedient for every Man to go who is fit and willing.

The above is a true Copy as rec^d P^r Express from New Haven, and attested to by the Committee of Correspondence from Town to Town

Test.

Jonth Sturges
Andrew Rowland
G Selleck Silliman Com^{ee}
Thad^s Burr
Job Bartram

New York Committee Chamber 4 oClock Sunday
Afternoon 23^d April 1775

Received the within Account by Express and forwarded by Express to New Brunswick, with Directions to stop at Elizabeth Town and acquaint the Committee there with the foregoing Particulars

By Order of the Committee

The Committee at N Brunswick
are requested to forward this
to Philad^a

Isaac Low Chairman

New Brunswick Ap^l 24th 2 oClock in the Morning received the above Express and Forwarded to Princetown by

W^m Oake Comm
Ja^s Neilson
Az: Dunham

Princeton Monday April 24 6 oClock receivd & forwarded to Trenton by

Tho^s Wiggins
Jonn Baldwin Committee Members

Trenton Monday April 24th nine Clock in the morning Received the above
Pr Express and forwarded the Same to the Comitte of Philadelphia

P Sam^l Tucker
Isaac Smith Com^{te}

Philad^a Monday 5 OClock P. M.
Reced & forwarded by the Committee (p. I Melcher
of Philad^a Sam^l Meredith Chairman
24 April 1775

On the outer fold of the paper is the address for the original
message, now appearing inverted between the closely written
endorsements made at Princeton and Trenton: "For Cap^t Isaac
Sears, New York."

(2)

Newcastle tuesday morning
about 3 OClock 25^t April

Sir

The enclosed was forwarded here by the
express from Doctor M^e Kinly you will
perceive by the dates the dispatch with which
it has been brought from Newyork and send
it with all expedition to the Committee of
Maryland with the printed papers &c.

John Thompson

To Samuel Patterson Esqr.

P S. intelligence is sent by
express to Dover—

Samuel Patterson Esqr
Xtiana Mills ²⁹

Sr You Are Desired To Forward this to
Baltimore As Fast as possible I am yrs

Thos Cooch

to Tobyas Rudelph Esqr 25 Aprile in ye Mornng
a Elk

(3)

Tuesday morning at Break
of day p messenger

Dr. Sir—

the Accts as sent you will recive by which I find
our unhappy affairs is now come to Cruelty and nothing
but blood is the Consequence

²⁹ Now Christiana, Del.

forward this in a moment to Hd Elk to Mr
 Rudolph, and him as fast as Possible I think
 you should meet at Xteen⁸⁰ directly call at
 my house and we must do all in our Power
 S. Patterson

To
 Collⁿ Tho^s Cooch Esq^r p Express

(4)

Gentlemen

Inclosed you have the alarming News of an engagement
 between the regulars & provincials frowarded with the utmost expedition
 as the Provincial Convention is not Sitting it will be expedient they should
 have notice before they adjourn Yours &c:

Aquila Hall Junr.
 Jo^s Butler

Tuesday Night
 10 O'Clock

(5)

To the Gentlemen of the Baltimore Committee now sitting in the Pro-
 vincial Convention at Annapolis

Gentlemen

Sincerely grievd and greatly alarmd
 at the Interesting Intelligence this day recievd from our oppressed and
 Insulted Sister Colony of the Massachusets Bay we think it our duty to
 offer to you and assure you of our Immediate and chearful assistance in
 the Seizing of the Arms & Ammunition at Annapolis, or in any other
 Service that you, or the Gentlemen of the different Counties now met in
 Convention may deem necessary or Expedient to be Performed.

Should you need our Services Please to send back the bearer with all
 Possible dispatch. we are with much Regard Gentⁿ

Baltimore 26 April 1775

Your Humble Servants

NB. you have Inclosed the
 original Intillegence that came
 by the different Expresses. which
 ought to have been forwarded before
 Instead of the Coppy

And Buchanan
 Mordecai Gist
 Ja^s Edwards
 Cornel^s Clopper Jun^r

there are two Capt^s absent. whose
 officers say they will also be ready

To the
 Baltimore Committee
 Now Convend at
 Annapolis

P fav of Mr Darley
 Express

⁸⁰ Christiana, Del.

The Wallingford alarm, item (6), provided a thrill. What came first to light was half of the present big double sheet; this carries the message to Stamford. Its left-hand edge had been cut, but not in a straight line. Days later, another piece turned up; it had a crooked cut along its edge, too. And the two pieces fit perfectly so that not the most minute piece of paper had to be added in restoring. The next item (7) begins at Fairfield, Connecticut, April 24th, 1775; and goes down to midnight of the following day at New Brunswick, New Jersey. It is a cover for the preceding piece, and in some cases the committees have endorsed the contents and the cover also. Paper (8) is another large double sheet; judging by the size and the endorsements, it carried the other parts of this alarm to Annapolis.

(6)

Wallingford Monday Morning
April 24. 1775.

Dear Sir

Col^l Wodsworth was over in this Place most of Yesterday and has Order'd twenty Men out of Each Company in his Regiment; some of which have already sett off and others go this Morning. He brings *Acco^{ts}* which Come to him Authenticated from Thursday in the Afternoon—The King's Troops being Reinforced A Second time, & Joined as I Suppose from what I can Learn by the Party who were Intercepted by *Col^l Gardner*, were then Encamped on Winter Hill, and were Surrounded by 20,000 of our Men who were Intrenching. *Col^l Gardner's* Ambush proved fatal to Lord Piercy, and another *Gen^l Officer*, who were killed on the Spot the first fire. to Counterbalance this good News, the Story is, that our first Man in Command (who he was I know not) is also kill'd. it seems they have lost many Men on both Sides—*Col^l Wodsworth* had the *Acco^t* in a Letter from Hartford.— The Country beyond here, are all gone off, and we Expect it will be impossible to procure Horses for our Waggon, as they have, or will in Every place Employ themselves all their Horses. In this Place they send an Horse for every sixth Man, & are pressing them for that purpose. I know of no way, but you must immediately send a Couple of Stout able Horses, who may Overtake us at Hartford possibly, where we must return *M^{rs} Noy's* & *Meloy's* if he holds out so far; remember the Horses must be had at any Rate. I am in the greatest Haste Your Entire friend & hum^{le} Serv^t

James Lockwood.

N. B. *Col^l Gardner* took 9 Prisoners, and 12 Clubb'd their Firelocks and Came over to our Party—*Col^l Gardner's* Party consisted of 700 and the

Regulars 1800 instead of 1200 as we hear'd before. They have sent a Vessel up Mystick River as far as Temples farm, which is about half a Mile from Winter Hill— These Acco^{ts} being true, all the King's forces except 4 or 500, must be Encamped on Winter Hill. at the Instance of the Gentlemen of Fairfield just departed from hence, this is Copied Verbatim, from the Original to be forwarded to that town—

Isaac Bears. [Sears]

New Haven April 24. half past 9 oClock forenoon
Pearpoint Edwards

Fairfield April 24.
3 oClock Afternoon A True Copy as rec^d p^r Express.
Thad^s Burr
And^w Rowland
Elijah Abel

Norwalk April 24.
7 oClock Afternoon a True Copy as rec^d by Express.
Jn^o Cannon
Thaddeus Betts Come^e
Sam^l Gruman

Stanford April 24.
10 oClock in the even. g A True Copy as recd. p Express
Jn^o Hait Jun^r
Sam^l Hutton
David Webb
Dan^l Gray
Jon^a Warring

Greenwich April 25.
3 oClock Morning The above is forwarded to the Com^{ee} of
Correspondence at New York—
Amos Mead

A True Copy rec^d in New York 2 oClock P.M.—
Tuesday 25 April 1775.

A True Copy rec^d at Eliz. Town 7 oClock in the Even. g
Tuesday 25 April 1775—

Jona: Hampton Chairman of the
Committee—

Geo: Ross
John Blanchard

A True Copy rec^d at Woodbridge 10 of the Clock in the Even^g
Tuesday 25th April 1775.

Nathaniel Heard three of
Sam^l F. Parkes the Comm
Jonathan Clewson [or Clawson]

The above received at New Brunswick the 25th April 1775 12 O'Clock at night

W^m Oake
Ja^s Neilson
Az: Dunham
Comm

A true Copy receiv'd at Princeton April 26th 1775.
half past three o'Clock in the morning.

Thomas Wiggins
Jonⁿ Baldwin
members of Committee

The above received at Trenton on Wednesday morn^g about half after 6 O'Clock & forw^d at 7 O'Clock

Sam ^l Tucker	three of
Isaac Smith	the Com
Abm Hunt	mittee at
	Trenton

Philad^a 12 O'Clock Wednesday

Rec^d & forwarded at same time by

Lambt Cadwalader
W^m Bradford
Tho^s Pryor
Isaac Melcher

Chester 4 O'Clock Wednesday P. M.

Rec^d and forwarded by

To the Committee	Fra ^s Johnston	Three of the
of Wilmington	Isaac Eyre	Committee
	Sam ^l Fairlamb	

New Castle 9 o'Clock Wednesday Evening

Rec^d & forwarded

Z: VLeuvenigh
Stephⁿ Spencer

Wednesday night

Christeen bridge 12 [^] o'Clock forwarded to Collⁿ Thos Cooch Esq^r who
ricd it this moment and he to forward it to Tobias Rudolph Esq^r
H^d Elk in Maryland

S. Patterson

Night and day to be forwarded

Head Elk 1/2 past 4 o'Clock AM receiv'd & forward^d to Patrick Hamilton
Esq^r in Ch^a Town by Tobias Rudolph & Jos^h Gilpin



ROBERT PURVIANCE (c. 1733-1806)

Merchant of Baltimore, member of
the Committee of Correspondence
for Baltimore County.



JOSEPH PALMER (1716-1788)

Of Massachusetts, who sent the
first alarm after the Battle of
Lexington.

Gentlemen
Inclosed you have the alarming news of an
engagement between the regulars & provincials forwarded
with the utmost expedition as the provincial convention
is now sitting it will be expedient they should have notice
before they adjourn
Yours truly
J. Aquila Hall Junr.
J. Butler
Twoing N.Y. 4
W. B. Black

MESSAGE FROM THE HARFORD COUNTY COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE,
PART OF THE FIRST LEXINGTON ALARM (ITEM 4).





(7)

Fairfield 24th April 1775Gent^t

We inclose you the Copy of what we this day Rec^d from New Haven & beg you wou'd forward it to Stanford, we do not mean that any more of our[s] move, till we have further Accounts, but hold themselves in Readiness, & hope that our friends to the westward will do the same, we shall give you the earliest notice of every Account we Receive

I am in behalf of the Com^{ee}
Thad^s Burr, Clerk

To the Committee of Correspondance of Norwich — the above is a true Coppy

Gent^t: Immediately on the Receipt of the above we have forwarded the same with the Inclosed Intelligence to you and shall give you all the Intelligence we shall have as it Comes to hand to desire you to forward this same to greenwich— We are Gent^t:

To the Committee of Correspondance at Stanford, the above is a true Coppy

John Cannon
Thad^s Betts
Sam^{ll} Gruman

Stanford 24th April 1775

3 OClock in the Afternoon Gent. on Receipt of y^e Above Intelligence we forward it to you with all Speed & beg you will Immediately forward it to the Chairman of the Committee in New York or assist the Bearer in doing it, we shall take care to give any further Intelligence as it shall Come to hand—We are Gent^t

To the Committee of Correspondance at Greenwich

David Webb
Jn^o Hait Jun^r Committee
Dan^{ll} Gray
Jonathan Warring Jun^r

Greenwich April 25th 1775
3 OClock in the Morning

On Receipt of the Above Intelligence we Immediately forward it with all Speed & shall take Care to give you any further Intelligence as it shall Come to hand

To the Chairman of the Committee of Correspondance at New York

I am Sir y^r Humb^e Servt.
Amos Mead
in behalf of the Com^{ee}

The Above is a True Coppy of the Papers forwarded to New York by Express
Tuesday 2 P: M: 25th April 1775

Allexander McDougall

rec^d the Intelligence sent herewith by Express Tuesday 10 oClock,
Even^g April 25, 1775—& forwarded immediately by

rec^d the above at New Brunswick
Ap^l 25. 1775 12 o'Clock at night
W^m Oake

Nathaniel Heard
Sam^l F. Parker
Jonathan Clawson
three of the Committee
of Woodbridge.

(8)

The inclosed Papers were received here this Evening at 10 oClock by
express and forwarded immediately to Annapolis—

Jn. Boyd Clk Com

Baltimore

April 27th 1775

What was the news contained in the third dispatch is unknown, for the first part of it is missing. The notes and endorsements (Nos. 9-11 below) begin with a small double sheet carrying only the request of the committee of Chester, Pennsylvania, to John McKinly of Wilmington that he forward the contents "with all expedition." McKinly promptly on a large single sheet, asked New Castle to forward all the contents more quickly than Head of Elk and Charles Town had been doing. The irritation of those gentlemen moved them to such speed that two and a half hours later the papers were out of Susquehanna Ferry toward Harford Town.

(9)

Chester Thursday 6 O'Clock

Gentⁿ

By Express we send you some further Intelligence, together with a confirmation of the former news—

By the Bearer we have sent you a Packit, addressed to you, by y^e Philad^a Committee—forward the Contents with all expedition

Your hble Ser^{ts}

Fra ^s Johnston	three
Sam ^l Fairlamb	of the
David Cowpland	Committee

John McKinley Esq^r
Chairman of the
pr Express Committee of
Wilmington

(10)

Wilmington Thursday 9 O'Clock P. M.
April 27th 1775

Gentlemen

I have just now rec^d the inclosed by Express which please to forward immediately towards Baltimore & Coll^o Washington in Virginia—I am told that at the head of Elk & Charlestown they take little or no Care to forward these Expresses which I wou^d have some Care or notice taken of I am

Yr^s sincerely
Jn^o McKinly

To John Thompson Esq^r & others
the Committee at New Castle

What Mr McKinly says of his information that the Expresses are detain'd at Elk is by no means true as the papers are immediately forwar^d by Tobias Rudulph to Mr. Patrick Hamilton of Cha^s Town whome I dare say Forwards them immediately to the Committee of Harford—

Tobias Rudulph

What Mr McKinly says with respect to the express being detained at Charles Town is by no means true as the papers are immediately forwarded to Harford

Patt. Hamilton

Rec^d at 11 oClock and Sent of in five Minuits
susq...[torn]anah ferry . . . John Rodgers

To John Thompson Esq^r & others
the Committee at
New Castle

(11)

Gentlemen 27th april 1775

I Rec^d the inclosed paper from the Norward and am Desired to forward them with all Speed imaginable to Baltimore Town

your Hbl Serv^t
John Rodgers

To
the Gentlemen of the Comittee of harford Town or Mr Joseph Stiles

The news told in the fourth dispatch is not known, but from the eagerness for speed that the endorsements show, it must have been of major importance.

(12)

Sir

Please forward the Inclosed with what speed the emergency of the affair requireth

From Sir Y^r Humble Serv^{ts}

Committee of New Castle

Friday [April 28, 1775] 1 O'Clock A. M.

Christiania bridg. this day before daybreak 3 oClock Came to hand and forward Immediately to H^d of Elk

P Sam^l Patterson

To Tobias Rudolph Esq^r

Friday ... [torn] past 6 oClk

Rec'd at the head of Elk & immediately forwarded to Mr Patrick Hamilton in Charles Town who is requested to send them immediately to the Com^{ee} of Harford County

Tobias Rudolph

Charles Town 1/2 after 9 OClock.

Rec^d and immediately forward to Harford Town The Committee for Harford County are requested to forward the inclosed Papers with the greatest expedition to Baltimore Town 28th. April 1775

Patt. Hamilton

Harford Town 4 OClock Rec^d and Forw^d to Baltim^e

Isaac Webster

(13)

Harford County Aprill 28th 4 Oclock afternoon

Gentlemen

The above this moment Came to hand— We Forward it you—as quick as in our Power [o]n Behalf of the Committee

I am your ass: Friend

Isaac Webster

The fifth dispatch originated in New York and concerns the effect that the news from Lexington had in New York and Philadelphia. It begins with a double foolscap sheet copied from a copy and traces the course of the news south to Baltimore. With this go two large single sheets. One is a cover note from the Philadelphia committee; a second carries the endorsements from Wilmington to Baltimore. Both of these are copies made in Baltimore.

(14)

New York Ap^l 27. 1775.Gentⁿ

About 3 OClock this afternoon the Inhabitants *assembled and formed* a Battalion of 700 Men tolerably well equipped considering how recently a military Spirit has prevailed amongst us. They were then addressed in a very ~~polite~~ pathetic and suitable Manner on the present posture of Affairs—and the absolute Necessity of shutting up the port entirely, unless it be for inward bound and whaling Vessels &c. This was carried with but a very trifling Opposition we believe not half-a Dozen. It was then moved to wait on the Collector and take his Opinion on the Matter. According a Committee of five persons were appointed to precede the Main Body which consisted of about 1500 or 2,000 Men. When they got about half way to his House in the Bowry one of the Committee was sent before to inform of their Coming and the Occasion, when they arrivd opposite to his Gate, they halted, and the Committee waited on him and were received in a very polite Manner. They informed him of their Errand to which he replied, that if they insisted on the Keys he supposed Mr. Moore would deliver them. They then took Leave in a proper Manner & were thanked for their politeness. they returned to the Liberty Pole; and nominated 20 persons to be polled for Tomorrow, as Members to form a provincial Convention. After this they proceeded to the Custom House where the Keys were delivered them, by the Time this was executed it was near Night and they repaired to the place of Rendezvous and dispersed from thence to their respective Homes, all but those who were to mount Guard. Thus rest Matters just now.

But notwithstanding all this, their appears a greater Necessity for your Assistance than ever *as we are well assured* that an Express was sent off last Night by Water to General Gage letting him know that if he can spare about 1000 Troops this place can be kept in Order. This important Intelligence received from a Connection of the Army can there be a doubt then, but that some of us are destined by these bloody minded Wretches to Carnage and others to the most abject Slavery. We must therefore most earnestly entreat you to succour us as soon as possible; And that efficaciously too, or we shall not be able perhaps to make a Stand long. Depend upon it that every Engine will be set to work, in Order to raise a Clamour against the Friends of America. It ought to have been observed that a Body waited on all those who had Vessels loading and insisted that they should be unloaded &c &c. The propriety of this Measure, we make no Doubt will appear very evident to you, when it is considered how suddenly and powerfully, it must operate on our Oppressors, by sending near 25,000 Fishermen, it is supposed back on their Hands from Newfoundland provided all the Colonies will adopt the same Measure—We are hourly gaining further Intelligence of the

dark Designs of our internal and external Enemies. We are with the greatest Regard, Gent.

Your and America's most assured Friends.

Signed Isaac Sears
Hugh Hughs
Jn^o H. Kip
Jn^o Lamb.

N. B. It is thought that the sending off a light Vessel immediately for England with a true State of the Facts would serve the Cause, lest it be misrepresented, and the people of England made to believe that our people were the Aggressors This Requisition was in Consequence of Advice received from the General that he would furnish them with a Regiment if they required it. N. B. Let this be forwarded from town to Town with the utmost Expedition to the remotest of the Colonies especially to Virginia.

A true Copy from the Original

Joseph Read
Chairman
April 29. 1775.

Newcastle 29 April 9 in the Eveng. Rec^d & forwarded by us

John Thompson
Z. V. Leuvenigh
Stephen Spencer
Com^{ee}

Christiana Bridge Saturday Night 29 April 11 o'Clock, the above Express came to Hand and forwarded to Tobias Rudolph Esq^r Hd. of Elk in Maryland to be forwarded immediately night & Day—Sam^l Patterson, one of the Com^{ee} of Correspondence. To be forwarded to Balt^o Town & Virginia &c.—Head of Elk Sunday Morning 4 o'Clock. rec^d & forwarded to Mr patrick Hamilton—Tobias Rudolph—Charles Town Sunday Morning half after 6 o'Clock 30 April 1775. rec^d & forwarded to Harford Town by patrick Hamilton, Tho^s Hughes, John Hamilton—Balt^o Sunday Evening 8 O'Clock 30 April 1775. Rec^d & forwarded to Annapolis Rob^t Purviance, John McClure

(15)

Phil^a april 29th 1775

Gent

The inclosed came by express about an hour ago, we have thought it advisable to forward the Letter to you—Our Brethren at New York seem to have two Objects in view—to stop all provisions and supplies for the Army at Boston & the Fisheries and to ask our assistance in case the General should send a Regiment to New York. We have already made ample provision for the former exigence by stopping all trade to

those colonies, who have not acceded to the resolutions of the Congress among which Newfoundland and its dependents are included: As to the other part we are forming as fast as possible into a military array before which it will be impossible to render them any Effectual service In the mean time it is proposed that some of our Committee set out immediatly for New York where they will be able to procure the most Authentic intelligence which shall be immediately communicated to you—together with the farther resolutions as we may come into on so important and interesting an Occasion We are Gent with much respect and Regard your very Hble. Ser^{ts}

Jos. Reid
John Nixon
Geo Clymer
James Mears
Jon^a B Smyth
Tho^a Barclay
Sam^l Meredith
John Benezette

P. S. The committee are unanimously of opinion, that all Supplies for the army at Boston and the fisheries ought to be immediately Stoppd—We have detained a Vessel going to the latter after being CLEARED and on the point of sailing

(16)

Please to forward this or a copy with all due expedition
Wilmington Saturday 7 O'Clock P M 29th Ap^l 1775
New Castle county then red and forwarded

by Jn^o M^cKinly Chairmⁿ

Head of Elk Sunday morning
4 oClock Ap^l 30th recd and forwarded to M^r Patrick Hamilton at
Cha^s Town

P Tobias Rudolph

Cha^s Town Sunday morning Ap^l 30th half after 6 o'Clock recd and forwarded to Harford Town by

Patt Hamilton
Tho^a Hughes
John Hamilton

Baltimore

Sunday 8 o'Clock P. M. recd and forwarded to Annapolis by
Your Hble Ser^{ts}

John M^cClure
Robert Purviance

The sixth and last of these dispatches brought from Hartford, Connecticut, to Baltimore the news of the threat to coastwise

shipping. It consists of two single sheets, and when it was found, the two were held together with sealing wax. What adds much to its value is that it is entirely original: there is no copying anywhere in it, and, of course, the names of the endorsers are all signatures.

(17)

Hartford Wednesday 3.^oClk

Dr Sir

I send this express to inform you and all that have Vessels, that by Advice this instant received General Gage has Ordered all ye Vessels yt. may be found on ye. Coast of New England, to be immediately seized for ye. Kings Use. You will communicate this intelligence to every one concerned, that they may take ye. needful precautions accordingly

I am Sir your very Ready friend—
Tho^s Mumford

To Nat Shaw Jun^r

New Haven thursday 2 oClk Morn

Gentⁿ the above we Rec^d by express from M^rRich^d alsop of Middletown, and desire you to forward with all convenient Speed to the the [sic] Westward y^t all needful precautions may be taken by y^e owners of Vessels for their Security

to y^e Gentⁿ Merch^{ts}
in Milford

I am Gentⁿ
your hl^e Ser^t
Peter Colt

To y^e Gentⁿ Merchants in Fairfield Stratford thursday Morn^s forwarded by Jehu Brooks

To ye Gentⁿ Merchants in Norwalk forwarded from Fairfield 11 ^oClk

To the Gentlemen Merchants in Stanford forwarded from Norwalk 1 oClock

To the Gentlemen Merchant in Greenwich forwarded from Stanford by
— — — John Hait Jun^r
Daniel Gray

To the Gentlemen merchants in Ry Forward from Greenwich by Titus Mead

The above was received at Rye at 6 oClock Thursday afternoon and forwarded by Eben^r Haviland

New York Committee Chamber 28th April 1775

Received Fryday 12 ^hClock and forwarded, by Order of the
Committe 1 P M Isaac Low, Chairmⁿ

Elizabeth Town Committee Chamb.
rec^d Friday 4 oClock P. M. & forwarded by order of the Committee
Stephⁿ Crane

Received at 6 P. M. Woodbridge 28th April, 1775
Nathaniel Heard

Perth Amboy 28th 1775. Rec^d at 7 o'Clock in the afternoon
and forwarded by Jona. Deare of the Com^e or Correspondence

N^w Brunswick Ap^l 29th 1775 6 OClock morn^g
Forwarded by W^m Oake of the Com^e Correspondence

Princeton Ap^l 29. 1775 1 OClock P. M. Rec^d & forwarded by
Jona D Sergeant of the Committee of Somerset.

Trenton 29th April 1775 rec^d & forw^d to Bordentown Abm Hunt

Saturday Evening 29th Apr^l
Rec^d and forwarded by
Jo^s Borden.

Sunday Morn^g 10 oClock April 30th Rec^d. and forwarded by Order of
Committee of Correspondence of Burlington
Colin Campbell Jam^s Sterling

(18)

April 30th 1775

Sunday Evening 7 OClock rec^d and forwarded by

W ^m Bradford	Committee
Tho ^s Pryor	for forward-
Jos: Dean	ing Express

April 30th 1775

Sunday Night 10 OClock Rec^d & forwarded by

Sam^l Fairlamb
one of the Committee of Correspondence

Wilmington New Castle County Monday 7 O'Clock A M 1st May 1775
Rec^d & forwarded by Jn^o McKinly Chairman Comm^{ee}

Christiania bridg[e] mondy 10 oClock A. M recd and forward to
Colln Cooch Esq^r to forward it to Tob^s Rudulph Esq^r to forward it
night and day to Virginia &

Sam^l Patterson one of Committee
Correspondence

Monday Head of Elk 1 o'Clock receiv'd and immediately forwarded to
1 May Mr Patt: Hamilton to be forwarded T Rudulph

1st May 75. Charles Town Half after 3 OClock rec^d and immediately
forwarded to Harford Patt. Hamilton

May the 1st 1775 Harford Town
to Baltimore by

OClock rece^d and Forwarded
Aquila Hall one of the Committee of
Correspon^e

May 2^d 1775 half after 11^oClock A. M. Rec^d & forwarded by Express
W. Smith Vice Chairmⁿ

This letter to be forwarded immediately to Baltimore.

Altogether these manuscript discoveries make an impressive total. There is the original from which the only other long form of the Watertown alarm was copied, with endorsements and enclosures that carry the news to Baltimore. There is the Wallingford alarm from which the only other long form, Mr. Scheide's, was copied, and there are endorsements again that carry the story to Baltimore. Of the third alarm the message is lacking, but the Society has a full set of endorsements. There are the originals of the letters sent from New York and from Philadelphia to tell of the martial activities taking place in New York, with notes and endorsements. And, lastly, there is the dispatch from Hartford, Connecticut, warning of the danger to coastwise shipping from Gen. Gage's order. This, too, comes down to Baltimore. It would be difficult to gather a more interesting sequence of historical manuscripts.

THOMAS JEFFERSON IN ANNAPOLIS,

NOVEMBER 25, 1783—MAY 11, 1784

Edited by EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN

Frost had already touched the mountains of the Blue Ridge when Thomas Jefferson, delegate from Virginia, left Monticello on the 16th of October for Trenton, New Jersey, where the United States in Congress was to convene on November 4th. Seated beside him in the phaeton was his eldest daughter, Martha, (Patsy) aged eleven, who would be placed in school in Philadelphia. Bob, his servant, rode an extra horse which was interchangeable with the pair.

They crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry and spent the night of the 26th at Morris' "Catauba King"¹ at Fredericktown, passed through "Tawney-town" the next day and arrived in Philadelphia on the 29th.

Jefferson was present at the opening of Congress which adjourned the same day to assemble in Annapolis on November 26th. The intervening period he spent in Philadelphia and carefully recorded in his Expense Account having his violin "mended," purchasing a chess board for thirty-five shillings and books amounting to nearly £30 which accompanied him to Annapolis. He arrived there on November 25th, having spent the previous night in Baltimore. Other delegates were not as punctual and it was not until the 13th of December that a quorum was present. With leisure on his hands this was probably the time that Jefferson made the pen and ink drawing of the recently completed house of Matthias Hammond (The Hammond-Harwood House), which is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Desiring more privacy than George Mann's Hotel afforded, Jefferson moved to the home of "Mrs. Gheeseland" on New Year's Day where he lodged for two months. The first of March

¹ Probably phonetic spelling. Capt. Jacob Marres kept an Inn in Frederick in 1786.

found him and his young colleague and disciple, Colonel James Monroe, comfortably settled in a small house they rented from Mr. Dulany, with Partout, a French chef in attendance. Their frugal household expenses, which they shared, were scrupulously recorded by Jefferson and as their spectacular increase in "provisions" the last week in April—£6: 16: 7, and 30/s for extra cooking, coincided with Washington's stop in Annapolis on his way to Philadelphia to attend the meeting of the Order of the Cincinnati, we surmise he was entertained on a lavish scale by his fellow Virginians. Jefferson refers to this visit in a letter to Martin Van Buren in 1824: ² "he sat with me till after midnight, conversing almost exclusively on that subject" (the Order of the Cincinnati).

On the 7th of May Jefferson was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France. He sold his books and household belongings to Col. Monroe, settled his various Annapolis accounts and, collecting the balance due him as delegate to Congress, he left the city on May 11th, by ferry to Rock Hall, en route to Philadelphia where Patsy joined him and they started on their long journey to Paris.

From the Records of the Tenth Continental Congress we know that Jefferson was an acknowledged leader, serving on all the important committees and drafting many of the now historical papers—The Order of the Ceremony attending General Washington's resignation as Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United Colonies which took place in the Senate Chamber on December 23, 1783, and the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain which was ratified by Congress on January 14, 1784.

Jefferson did not keep a diary and the many letters he wrote during his stay in Annapolis were for the most part highly impersonal. It is only from his meticulous record of daily expenditures, including even his tips which he lists as "charity," that we can picture a truly human Mr. Jefferson—who bought cotton stockings and "galoches" from the local tradesmen and ate oysters and asparagus in season—a man who fed his horses well and rode them often—a gentleman who enjoyed a quiet game of

² *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Andrew L. Lipscomb, editor. (Washington, 1903) XVI, 63. Jefferson had previously visited Annapolis in May, 1766. While still a law student he attended a meeting of the Lower House and wrote an amusing and derisive account of the proceedings in a letter to his cousin, John Page, which is quoted in *The Archives of Maryland*, LXI, p. xv-xvi.

chess and found relaxation in his violin and solace and companionship in his books.

A copy of the expense account of Jefferson during his stay in Annapolis has generously been made available by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the fortunate possessor of the Thomas Jefferson Coolidge collection of papers of the great Virginian.

Maryland & Pennsylvania currency

1783. * * * * * *
- Nov. 23. pd. expenses to & at Newport £2-16
25. pd barber at Baltimore 1/10
 repd expenses to Annapolis to mr. Mercer ^s £4-0-8
 do to mr Madison ^a £3-5-6- do Dr. Williamson 21/4
 pd shoeing horse 6/4
28. borrowed of mr Jas Madison his bill on mr Ambler 333 1/3
 Doll.
28. delivd sd bill to Mark Pringle ^s to sell for me in Baltimore.
 recd in part thereof from him £14.
29. pd for apples 1/3
30. pd for a whip 17/9
- Dec. 2. pd for yd of flannel 3/3—apples 22d.
8. pd for paper 6/.—10. mendg watch 13/9—gunpowder 4/2
11. pd for shoes 20/—clothesbrush 3/6
15. pd for combs 10/—a ton of hay £6.—1 bushel corn 4/
 gave waggoner 22d—
 took posin of Frazer ^a: stable @ £15. a year.
17. borrowed of Colo Monroe ^r £17-5.—18. corn 4/6
20. pd for pr galoches 17/6
27. pd for inkpot 1/—Davidson ^s for sundries 51/
29. pd for sundries 7/—1 quire gilt paper 4/6
 sealg wax 3/—oats 11/3
 recd by mr Williams ^s from mr Pringle £56-5 in part for bill
 of excha.

^a John Francis Mercer, 1759-1821. Delegate to Congress from Virginia. He married Sophia Sprigg, daughter of Richard Sprigg of "Strawberry Hill," Annapolis, in 1785. Governor of Maryland, 1801-1803.

^a James Madison, 1751-1836. Fourth President of the U. S.

^s Merchant of Baltimore. Member of the committee appointed to complete the fortifications of Fort McHenry in 1799. D. 1819.

^s Probably Joshua Frazer, b. 1722, d. after 1797. Vestry-man, St. Anne's Church, Annapolis.

^r James Monroe, 1758-1831. Fifth President of the U. S.

^s John Davidson, merchant of Annapolis. Common Councilman in 1783 and member of the committee appointed to provide suitable accommodations for delegates to Congress. The Davidson Ledger for 1780-'83 is at the Maryland Historical Society.

^s James Williams. Rehabilitated Tory merchant of Annapolis. Consignee of the

30. borrowed of George Mann ¹⁰ £9.7.6. bank bill
inclosd. to Saml House Philada for books £9-7-6-. bank bill
recd by mr Williams of mr Pringle 54-15 balce for bill
pd for corn 58/4
31. pd John Brewer ¹¹ keepg horses £15-2-3
pd for sundries 2/6
pd George Mann in full to this day exclusive £18-13
pd Colo Monroe £17-14-6 balce on settlemt to this day.
- - - - -

1784.

- Jan. 1. paid mrs Gheeseland ¹² to this day for myself at 13-2-6
note this is a guinea a week or 5/ a day for lodging and
2/6 a day for wood
3. pd for corn £2-16-3. charge 14/1 of it to Colo Monroe
4. pd mrs Gheeseland for servt to New Year's day £4-7-6
note this was at half a guinea a week
began this day to dine with mrs Gheeseland.
5. pd Plane the barber 12/6—sundries 9/6 doorlock 15/
pd Wm Cole the taylor for Jos. Dowson ¹³ £2-16.
pd do for himself 38/8
7. pd Davidson for sundries £3-5-5
pd for 4 shirts for Bob.¹⁴ 30/0
8. pd barber to Jan. 1. 13/
pd for little house £3-15. charge 37/6 of it to Colo Monroe
10. pd for shoeing horse 7/6—Shoemaker 3/9
- 14 gave Bob to buy 2 blankets 30/
22. gave in Charity 1/8
26. pd for bookshelves 27/6
30. pd for 3 bush. corn 18.—31. for 2 bush. do 11/
- Feb. 1. pd barber for 1 month 20/
3. pd postage of books from Philadē 3/9
Bob begin with a barber @ 15/ per month
5. pd mrs Gheeseland for 31. days viz to last of Jan. as follows
- | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------------------------|
| lodgs breakfast | @ 5/ | } = 12/6 pr day 19-7-6 |
| dinner --- | @ 2/6 | |
| wood --- | @ 2/6 | |
| servt - - | @ 2/6 | |
- pd her for makg 6 cravats 6/ - pd for a chrstel 2/6

cargo of tea burned in the "Peggy Stewart" in 1774. Mayor of Annapolis, 1794, 1801, 1805.

¹⁰ Mann's Hotel was the best in Annapolis. Mann (1753-1795) served the dinner which was tendered Gen. Washington on December 22, 1793.

¹¹ Kept a tavern and lodging house on Cornhill St. D. 1788.

¹² Probably Mrs. Mary Wilkins Ghiselin, widow of Judge Reverdy Ghiselin of Anne Arundel County Court.

¹³ Merchant of Annapolis who moved to Cambridge where he died in 1791.

¹⁴ Jefferson's servant.

9. pd shoeing horse 3/9
10. pd for barber's apparatus for Bob. 30/ —chrystel 2/6
13. pd for half a quire line paper 1/10½ shavg box for Bob 7/6
pd towards exp. Colo Monroe's servt to Virginia 37/6
- Feb. 14. pd washing 30/—ribbon 2/
recd from mr Amber (as treasurer) B. Harrison's ¹⁶ bill on
Holker ¹⁶ for 433½ Dollars.
17. sold the sd bill to mr Stone.¹⁷ recd 100 Doll. in part
bot B. Harrison's bill on Holker in favr Colo Monroe for 96.
Doll. & pd. him 50 Doll. in part.
18. inclosed the bill for 96 Doll. last mentd to Saml. House to
lodge proceeds in American bank.
21. paid for 7 pecks corn 10/6
21. paid mr Hall ¹⁸ for a ton of hay £6.
22. gave Bob for expences to Baltimore 22/6
23. pd for 1 doz. sticks sealing wax 12/
25. moved to mr Dulany's ¹⁹ house
28. pd carpenter 3/9
- Mar. 1. pd for sundries from Feb. 24. to this day for myself £13-9
pd in same time for household expences £15.1.2. charge half to
Col. Monroe
2. pd mrs Gheeseland in full from Feb. 1 to 25. as follows
lodg.s breakft 5/ dinner 2/6 wood 5/ servt 2/6 = 15/ per day,
so paid for 25 days £18-15
on settlemt acct with Colo Monroe to this day I owe him ^{£ s d} 6-7-8
pd for candles 2/6
4. borrowed of Colo. Monroe 25½ Doll.
pd Monroe of the livery stable to this day, viz 3.horses 1.
^{D.}
month 36½
I still owe him for that time 3½
6. recd from B. Harrison junr. his bill on Holker for 333½ D. on
account of Treasury for my allowance as delegate.
pd for candles 3/4
recd of Colo. Stone in part for bill sold 17th supra 100.D.
pd Colo Monroe in full the two balances of 2^d & 4th £15-17-6

¹⁵ Benjamin Harrison, 1740-1791. Governor of Virginia, 1782-1785.

¹⁶ John Holker, 1745-1822. Consul for France and agent for the French Marines in Philadelphia.

¹⁷ John Hoskins Stone, 1745-1804. Served with distinction in the Revolutionary War. Governor of Maryland three terms, 1794-1797.

¹⁸ Probably John Hall, 1729-1797, prominent Annapolitan lawyer; delegate to Congress, 1783-'84. His country estate was "Vine Yard," Anne Arundel Co.

¹⁹ Not identified. Probably on the Walter Dulany estate, now part of the Naval Academy grounds. This Tory property was confiscated during the Revolution. Mary Dulany, Walter's widow, was allowed to buy back the fine old residence and lived there at this time.

7. borrowed Colo. Monroe 4/2—gave in Charity 4/2
remember to credit him half 4 bottles wine from Mann's in Nov.
pd Chalmers²⁰ for silver cover to ivory book £3.
 8. pd Dowson for 6. knives & forks 15/ tureen 8/4
pd for a cord of hiccory £3—cutting it 4/
 10. pd Monroe of the livery stable in full 50/—his horseler 2/6
 11. pd pr of shoes for Bob 12/6—6 lb candles 15/—6 lb coffee 9/
 13. pd for penknife 2/6—3 tablecloths £5-15-6—7½ th lb. refd
sugr 21 4½
pd for letter paper—2 quire 2d—apples 7/6
 14. settled household exp. with Colo Monroe & recd balance
£6-2-10
pd makg 2 pr sheets 8/ do 12 towels 12/
 15. pd for 7½ bushels corn 45/
- 1784
- Mar. 16. recd of Colo Stone balce of my bill 133½ Doll
pd necessities viz. Clarke²¹ a 3 qt bowl 27/6. 2.qt do 20/
cruets 20/
Shoemaker 1½ doz. shal plates 11/3 ½ doz
deep do 4/2
Graham's 2 butter boats 5/
Biggs's 2 ale glasses 2/6
Randall's²² 2 table cloths £4.
- 17 gave in charity 22/6 do for Colo Monroe 15/
 18. pd washg woman in full 37/6—I am to give 5/ a week
pd for 2 doz. eggs 2/6
 19. pd 9 lb beef @ 8d.6/—cord hiccory 40/ cording 1/ carting
3/ cutting 4/
 20. pd a turkey 7/6 7 pullets 14/
delvd Harrison's bill for 333½ D. on Holker to mr James
Maury²³ to negotiate, send me 100 D. & place balce in bank
 21. pd making 5 table cloths 10/
 22. sent Chevalr D'annours²⁴ for 12 spoons £17-16-6 (househd
exp.)
househd exp. 1/10½

²⁰ John Chalmers. Silversmith of Annapolis who in 1783 minted the rare coinage stamped "I. Chalmers." (Specimens at the Maryland Historical Society.) Common Councilman of Annapolis, 1783, and member of the committee appointed to inquire into suitable accommodations for delegates to Congress.

²¹ Stephen Clark. Advertises his book store and circulating library in *Maryland Gazette* and "sells a great many other articles of store goods too tedious to mention."

²² John Randall, d. 1826. Merchant of Annapolis. Served with the Maryland Line as State Clothier and as a commissary. Appointed collector of the port of Annapolis by President Washington. Mayor of Annapolis in 1813, 1815, 1817.

²³ Son of the Rev. James Maury, whose school Jefferson attended when a boy.

²⁴ Chevalier Charles François Adrien La Paulinier d'Annemours. b. circa 1742, Normandy, France, d. circa 1809, New Orleans, La. Appointed French consul for the State of Maryland, 1778; consul for Baltimore, 1784-1793, when he retired to

23. pd houshd exp. 6 cabbages 2/6 a peck potatoes 1/6 a duck 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d
22/2
a pullet 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ ½ cord oak 12/6 cordg 5d cartg 1/6
14 bush oats £2. 12. 6 (stable exp.)
pd for sweepg chimney 3/9 5 wine glasses 3/4
pd househd exp. mustard 1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ 4 punch glasses 12/ } 24/7 ½
2 small tureens 8/9 3 lb. rice 2/
25. borrowed of Colo. Monroe 35/
pd barber for the months of Feb. & Mar. 40/
pd houshd exp. 2 doz. eggs 2/
26. 4 yds oznabr. 5/4 6 lb brown sug. 5/7 5. qts. molasses 6/3 } £ s d
1 lb flour 6d. yest 1/ } 2.7.2
27. 3 doz. bottles 24/ ½ gross corks 2/6 }
pd Register of land office²⁵ for Fras. Hopkinson.²⁶ Philade.
22/6
pd hhd exp. 3 lb rice 2/—28. fish 1/3—29. turkey 6/
settled with Colo Monroe & recd balance £18.12
30. gave in charity 15/
pd for great seal to 2 papers for F. Hopkinson 25/6
pd hhd exp. 13 lb sugar 30/4 wood 27/6 cordg etc } £6.8.4
12 dishes £2.11. fish etc. 15/ oysters 2/6 2 doz eggs 2/ }
corkscrew 5/. rope for halters 5/
- Apr. 1. pd hhd exp. turkey 7/6—basket 1/3 10 bush corn 50/ 3 lb
candles 7/6 = 3.6.6
lent mr. Bannister £3—10
2. pd hhd exp. 1000 nails 18/9 4lb butter 10/
3. lent mr Bannister £3
4. settled with Colo Monroe balance due me £4—15—9.
recd from him £4—8—3. still due 7/6
pd household exp. 14/6
- Apr. 5. pd shoeing horse 22d $\frac{1}{2}$ 5 qts bottled cherries 10/ milk 1/1
6. pd Partout²⁷ balance of provn bill 25/—advanced do 16/8
recd from James Maury 115. Doll. & Turnbull & Co' note for
200 D. for Harrison's exch. on Holker (see Mar. 20)
he has pd out of it to Dudley for spectacles for Jas Madison 13 $\frac{2}{3}$
to McPherson for a year's prices current 4 $\frac{2}{3}$
to Boirod & Gaillard for books 14/6
7. pd for gloves 4/—for 5 pr cotton stockings £3—5 inkglass 1/
pd Brewer for James Bannister a tavern acct £2—15—9

his estate "Belmont" on the Harford Road. There in 1792 he erected the first monument to Christopher Columbus in the New World. "Belmont" was occupied for many years by the Samuel Ready School for Orphan Girls. Now used as the Community House of Sears Roebuck & Co.

²⁵ John Callahan, 1749-1803. Register of the Land Office, Annapolis, for over twenty-five years.

²⁶ Francis Hopkinson, 1737-1791. Signer of the Declaration of Independence for New Jersey. Poet, composer, artist and writer of political pamphlets of Philadelphia.

²⁷ French chef employed by Jefferson and Monroe.

30. charity $22\frac{1}{2}$ ^d—3 quire paper 7/6
 recd from Treasurer of Virginia Harrison's bill on Morris⁸¹
 333 $\frac{1}{2}$ D.

1784

- May. 1. pd for 1 lb butter 2/
 2. settled with Colo Monroe & recd balance £9-7-6
 pd Rachael for washing to end of April 30/
 pd servt for cooking 30/ ferrge Londontown 2/6
 gave servt 3/3—oranges 16d.—post rider 2/6—powder 6d
 baker 155 loaves £3,17,6 coffee 7/
 inclosed Harrison's bill on Morris for 333 $\frac{1}{2}$ Doll. to F. Hopkinson
 4. bacon . 11 lb 11/
 5. side of veal 24 lb @ 10d 20/ 6. candles 7/6
 7. 1 lb butter 2/
 Le Bas the barber for April 20/—Adam expences 15/
 8. milk 2/ pd Coe the taylor 27/9
 9. household exp. 25/5
 10. recd of the Intendant of Maryland⁸² to be repaid 233 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dol.
 pd. Dr. Murray⁸³ in full £35-4
 pd Mann in full 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dol.
 pd Partout provision bill £18.7.7

- his wages from Apr. 1 to May 11. @ 30 quineas a year $5. 18$ ^{£ s "}
 pd for mending clothes 7/6—shoeing horses 22/6
 11. balance due me as delegate of Virga to this day is 407 $\frac{1}{2}$ D.
 drew order of Treasurer to pay 407 $\frac{1}{2}$ D. to J. Madison.
 deductg price of 2 pr spectacles 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ D. I still owe him 68 $\frac{3}{4}$ D.
 pd for straps 5/—washg 10/ barber 10/ milk 2/
 sold Colo Monroe my books & household things at Annap.
 he is to pay mr Dulany my house rent £5-6-9 $\frac{1}{2}$
 and Frazer stable rent £6.
 recd his bill on Pringle for £47-10-7
 also another bill on do for 33. Dollars.
 this leaves him in my debt 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ Doll.
 inclosed the bill of £47-10-7 to mr Curson to pay
 balance I owe him for the pretended[?] James Bannister
 inclosed him also the bill for 33. Doll. to pay portage
 of my things to Philadelphia & remit balce to me.

⁸¹ Robert Morris, 1734-1806. Born in England, he came to Philadelphia where he built up a large mercantile business. Signer of the Declaration of Independence for Pennsylvania and so-called "Treasurer of the Revolutionary War."

⁸² Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, 1723-1790. Intendent of Revenue or State Treasurer of Maryland from 1781-1785 when the office expired.

⁸³ Dr. James Murray, 1739-1819. A leading physician in Annapolis who served as surgeon in the Continental army. Jefferson wrote Madison on January 1, 1784, "I have had very ill health since I have been here and am getting rather lower than otherwise." Paul Leicester Ford, *Thomas Jefferson* (Boston, 1904).

- pd for padlock 2/6
gave Colo Monroe's servants 15/
left with C. Thomson ⁸⁴ as specimen of coins 1.8.D.
pd Middleton ⁸⁵ passage to Rockhall 10. D.
left Annapolis
gave sailors at Rockhall. 8/4.
12. pd entent^t at Spencer's Rockhall 31/
pd do for reins for Phaeton 8/4

⁸⁴ Charles Thomson, 1729-1824. Secretary of Congress, 1774-1789.

⁸⁵ Joseph Middleton of Annapolis and Kent Co. d. 1787. Mentioned by Lord Adam Gordon, an English officer who visited Annapolis in 1765. "Middleton keeps a good House, and is provided with good Boats, for Men, Horses and Carriages." After the turn of the century the home of John Randall on Randall St. and Market Square, Annapolis, was converted into an inn for sea-faring men and known as Middleton's Hotel.

HOW BEN BUTLER SAVED "OLD IRONSIDES"

By LOUIS TAYLOR MERRILL

Although the redoubtable General Benjamin F. Butler was a yachtsman and a lover of the sea, his naval exploits in the Civil War are subordinated to the spectacularism of his stormy administration at New Orleans and other picturesque and arresting episodes of his military and political activities ashore. Through no fault of his own, he was nearly drowned when the ship taking him to New Orleans with his troops ran aground on the Hatteras shoals and narrowly escaped sinking.¹ Butler's final naval exploit, of trying to blow up Fort Fisher by running a hulk heavily loaded with gunpowder in near the fort, did not accomplish its purpose, and with that explosion his military career blew up, too. It reminded Lincoln of a funny story;² but Grant, peeved by the failure to take the fort, demanded and secured the general's recall from active command. At the beginning of the war, however, Butler was credited with saving the historic old frigate, *Constitution*, from danger of Confederate capture.

Amid cheers, the blare of bands, and the waving of hats and tear-dampened handkerchiefs, Butler started off with the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment from Boston on the anniversary of Lexington and Concord in April, 1861. Ordered to proceed to Washington, by way of Baltimore, they arrived at Philadelphia to be confronted there with extras screaming the news that the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment had received its baptism of fire while marching through Baltimore streets.

"Old Cockeye," his dander roused, determined to proceed to the scene of the mob attack, and "if they fired upon him from

¹ William Bailey of Quincy, Mass., cook on the disabled *Mississippi*, says Butler's bravery and resourcefulness on this occasion saved 1600 men. Bailey's reminiscences in *Boston Globe*, April 22, 1906.

² Reminiscences of Colonel Joseph W. Porter in *Boston Globe*, June 13, 1897.

any house, he would raze that house to the ground, by the help of God, or leave his bones and ashes in the streets of the city."³

Presently, however, told that burning bridges would make his passage by rail precarious, he decided to change his route and go by way of Annapolis. "I propose to occupy the town and hold it open as a means of communication," he notified Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts. "I have then but to advance by a forced march of thirty miles to reach the capital [Washington] in accordance with the orders I at first received."⁴ The governor was urged immediately to send him a supporting battery known as Cook's "Flying Artillery." The "flying artillery" was wingless without horses to draw the guns, however. The Massachusetts adjutant general was pulled out of bed in the middle of the night and sent scurrying from one end of Boston to the other to recruit steeds. Horses were taken from a horse-car barn to fill out the needed quota. Even then, lack of equipment kept the battery from moving to the general's support.⁵

Butler was moving ahead by train towards Perryville at the mouth of the Susquehanna river, whence he proposed to proceed to the Maryland capital by a railroad ferry. After being up nearly all night switching his plans at Philadelphia, the tired commander was snoozing in the train. Suddenly it jolted to a stop. "Man overboard!" somebody yelled. The general woke, rubbed his eyes, and looked out to see a deserter who had jumped from the cars running across the fields. Others set out in pursuit, but the fleeing man scooted too fast. The bugle sounded recall, the whistle tooted, and they chuffed off again.⁶

Near Perryville they disembarked, with the Salem Zouaves, best drilled company in the regiment, acting as skirmishers. A fight was apprehended to take the ferry boat *Maryland*. It was feared Confederates had captured her with a large force.⁷ This report

³ Narrative of S. M. Felton, president of the Philadelphia & Wilmington railroad which carried Butler's command, in William Schouler, *History of Massachusetts in the Civil War* (Boston, 1868-71), I, 103.

⁴ Butler to Governor Andrew, April 20, 1861, *Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War*, edited by Jessie Ames Marshall (Norwood, Mass., 1917), I, 19.

⁵ Henry Greenleaf Pearson, *John A. Andrew* (Boston, 1904), I, 192.

⁶ Benjamin F. Butler, *Butler's Book, Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences*, (Boston, 1892), 189.

⁷ "We were told that the ferryboat at Perryville had been seized by the Rebels and occupied by Rebel troops, eight or nine regiments strong." Butler speech at Eighth Massachusetts Regiment reunion, August 2, 1869, in *Butler's Correspondence*, I, 25.

was false. The *Maryland* was commandeered without opposition. The ferry captain, however, was suspected of being a "rebel" sympathizer, and according to reminiscences of a Salem Zouave, was thought to be giving wrong pulls on the engine room bell rope from the pilot house. Butler put a guard over him with orders to shoot if he erred in trying to head toward a wrong destination or to run the boat aground.⁸

They steamed through the darkness toward the wharf of the Naval Academy, thinking they were unnoticed. But ashore bugles blew, drums beat, lights went on, rockets swished skyward. Butler was not sure but that "rebels" had captured Annapolis. A boat was heard stealthily rowing out toward the ferry.

"What steamer is that?" the boat hailed. There was no answer. The challenge was repeated but again not answered. The boat seemed to be turning away. Butler then halted the craft.

"Come on board!" he called. His order was not immediately complied with. "Come on board," he thundered, "or I'll fire into you!"⁹

A uniformed officer clambered to the deck. Two soldiers grabbed him and held him fast. Butler feared he was hostile. The boarding naval officer, for his part, had feared the ferry was loaded "with a lot of Baltimore toughs" who had come to capture the Naval Academy and the old frigate *Constitution*, then aground at her moorings where she had been used as a training ship for midshipmen.¹⁰

At daybreak Commodore Blake, the Academy commandant, visited the *Maryland*. "The old man," according to Butler's account, "burst into tears and shed them like rain for a moment, and then broke out:

" 'Thank God, thank God! Won't you save the *Constitution*?

" 'Yes, that is just what I am here for.'

" 'Are those your orders? Then the old ship is safe.'

" 'I have no orders,' said I; 'I am carrying on war now on my own hook; I cut loose from my orders when I left Philadelphia. What do you want me to do to save the *Constitution*?' "

" 'I want some sailor men,' he answered, 'for I have no sailors; I want to get her out, and get her afloat,' "

⁸ Recollections of a member of Captain Arthur F. Devereux's Salem Zouaves (Company J, Eighth Massachusetts Regiment), in *Boston Journal*, January 12, 1893.

⁹ James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans* (New York, 1864), 76-77.

¹⁰ *Butler's Book*, 192.

" 'Oh, well,' said I, 'I have plenty of sailor men from the town of Marblehead, where their fathers built the *Constitution*.' " ¹¹

Telling about it later in a speech at Provincetown, Butler says he replied, "Sailors! I have two companies of Massachusetts fishermen that can man the navies of the world." ¹²

Colonel Schuyler Hamilton, later of Butler's staff, recounts: "Old Ben Butler cocked his eye . . . and roared out, 'Where are you Gloucester, Nantucket and Cape Cod boys? Do you know a hand-spike from a marlin-spike? Ahoy there!' Good Lord! The Eighth Massachusetts rose like one man after a long Plymouth Rock three hours sermon. . . . And 'Old Ironsides' floated like a black swan into deep water, where Secesh fire could not reach her." ¹³

It was not as simple as that. "Old Ironsides" was hard aground. Under direction of Butler and Naval Lieutenant (later Admiral) John Rodgers her heavy guns and other weighty gear had to be shifted to lighten the ship to get her out of the mud. Butler's sailor-soldiers "tugged, and tramped, and lightened, and heaved and tugged again," while "groups of sulky Secesh stood scowling around, muttering execrations." ¹⁴ Finally she was released from her bed of mud and towed off amid deafening cheers.

In the process the general's "flagship," the ferry, ran aground. Butler, still suspicious of the ferry captain, had warned him, "I am told you mean to run us aground . . . If you do, as God lives and you live, I'll blow your brains out!" ¹⁵ But when the ferry did ground, Butler was convinced it was by accident rather than by foul intent, and the captain's brains were left unblown out, though he was too jittered by the mishap for further useful service.

There was the regiment, mired in Chesapeake mud, provisions almost gone, water casks nearly dry, and a hot sun beating down.

"Then," recounts a member of Captain Arthur F. Devereux's Salem Zouaves, "Butler's fertility of resource came into play. He showed the energy that was in him when he conceived the idea of having the men double-quick fore and aft on one side.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 192-93.

¹² Speech at Provincetown, Mass., July 22, 1873, reported in *Boston Advertiser*, July 23, 1873.

¹³ Letter of General Hamilton in *New London Day*, October 20, 1897.

¹⁴ Parton, *op. cit.*, 80-81.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 81. "If you find traitors in the engine-room or the fire-room," Butler had ordered, "shoot them down and take their places." *Reminiscences at Eighth Regiment Reunion*, August 2, 1869, Butler, *Corr.*, I, 25.

" 'Fall in men!' it was. 'Forward, double time!' . . .

"The general grabbed a drum and sticks, and gave us the taps himself, double-quicking up and down with us."¹⁶

It was a display of tactics that probably amused the navy men looking on. When the ferry failed to be rocked off the reef by the general and his Marblehead and Salem salts drumming and running fore and aft, they tossed tons of coal and other weighty materials overboard, the general dropping his drum to put a shoulder to the lifting.

It was a busy Sunday, but all to no avail so far as floating the ferry was concerned. She had to be towed loose later by the steamer *Boston*, which appeared next day bearing the New York Seventh Regiment.

But the *Constitution* had been floated and freed and was out of danger of "rebel" capture. Lieutenant Rodgers reportedly was ready to sink her rather than strike her colors.¹⁷ Butler's Salem and Gloucester and Marblehead fishermen put the historic old ship out of reach of that extremity.

Presently all the troops were encamped ashore. At Annapolis, Butler's command captured a powderless gun, with a revolving barrel, run by steam, built by the Baltimore inventor, Ross Winans. Butler had the strange war engine steamed up and looked it over. He said it reminded him of the first British experiment of mounting howitzers on mule back. A soldier had held the beast's bridle, but the mule, with the fuse lighted in the gun, kept turning around with the inspecting officers scrambling to get out of the way. "There was the damndest lot of gold lace wiggling along the grass that day that ever they saw in the British army."¹⁸ The nearer they crawled to the mule's hoofs, the more chance they had of being kicked to death, and if they didn't get pretty close they ran a chance of being filled full of buckshot." Finally the gun went off and nobody was killed. Butler did not want to repeat

¹⁶ Reminiscences of a Salem Zouave, *Boston Journal*, January 12, 1893.

¹⁷ Schouler, *op. cit.*, I, 104.

¹⁸ As to gold braid, not wiggling in the grass, but adorning General Butler, Carl Schurz, visiting Annapolis, was impressed by "his gorgeous militia uniform adorned with rich gold embroidery. His rotund form, his squinting eye, and the peculiar puff of his cheeks made him look a little grotesque." It was obvious "that General Butler thoroughly enjoyed his position of power, which, of course, was new to him, and that he keenly appreciated its theatrical possibilities. . . . But he did expedite business, and, no doubt, he got over his theatrical fancies as the novelty wore off." Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1907-08), II, 226.

such a scene. For "pure down-right cussedness," he concluded, the Winans gun had "got the British howitzer mule beaten to death."

"Lieutenant," he ordered, "draw that fire and cool down that boiler. We'll take no chances with that dashedly-dashed thing."¹⁹

Getting locomotive steam up for a run to Washington was the general's more immediate concern. He had mechanics and railroad men as well as sailors in his versatile command. Drawing up his troops, he requested that anybody familiar with track-laying or repairing engines should step to the front. A score or more skilled mechanics responded.²⁰

Lieutenant Colonel E. W. Hinks, visiting the general, found him disturbed because the colonel of the New York regiment had called a "town meeting" of his officers and refused to obey orders to advance to help take possession of the partly torn up railroad to Washington. Hinks said with two companies of mechanics, he would do it. On departing, Hinks asked the general about the enemy he might meet.

"Shall I treat them with severity or attempt to conciliate them?" he asked.

"Conciliate them, by all means," Butler replied. "Do you know how to conciliate an enemy? The way to conciliate an enemy . . . is to take him by the throat and hold him till he is black in the face."²¹

It did not come to that. But the soldiers had to lay down rails and do other repairing of the sabotaged right-of-way before they could get the train bearing Butler's troops through to Washington. In the cab of the first engine that went over the restored line was young Andrew Carnegie.²²

Like Moses left behind on Mount Nebo, Butler was ordered to remain in command at Annapolis while his troops crept forward to the capital, but he shared the exultation of their exploit.

"You led the advance into Washington," he reminded veterans of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment at a reunion, "and to you, under God, it was given to save the National Capital from traitors

¹⁹ Eye-witness account in *New York Sun*, August 2, 1908.

²⁰ Frederick William Seward, *Reminiscences of a Wartime Statesman and Diplomat* (New York, 1916), 139.

²¹ *Army and Navy Journal* (XXI, 1861), 612.

²² Andrew Carnegie, *Autobiography* (Boston, 1920), 99.

. . . You secured Annapolis and Chesapeake Bay to the country and the Union, which required the basis of rebel operations to be the Potomac and not the Susquehanna. Without you, the fight had been carried to the Susquehanna, not the Potomac; Philadelphia would have been threatened, not Washington."²⁸

As a matter of fact, other troops, including the Baltimore-battered Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, had reached Washington, so it was hyperbolical rhetoric to say Butler's men had saved the capital single-handed. But the landing of his command at the Maryland capital had been useful at a time when "rebel" sympathies and activities were rife in the area and it was feared the Maryland legislature, then about to assemble, might pass an ordinance of secession. And the efforts of his sailor-soldiers did avert danger of capture, burning or sinking of the *Constitution* by ill-disposed anti-Unionists. "Old Cockeye" had saved "Old Ironsides."

Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.

²⁸ Butler speech at Eighth Massachusetts Regiment Reunion, August 2, 1869, Butler, *Corr.* I, 26.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By CHARLES BRANCH CLARK

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND, 1861-1865

(Concluded from Vol. XL, page 301, December, 1945)

Lincoln's Proclamation had a profound effect upon public opinion. Francis Thomas, one of Maryland's congressmen who had turned thumbs down on Lincoln's proposals of the previous March and July, introduced a resolution in Congress on January 12, 1863, providing that "The Committee on Emancipation and Colonization be instructed to inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation to aid the State of Maryland in a system of emancipation and colonization of persons of color, inhabitants of said state."⁴² On January 19, John A. Bingham of Ohio introduced a similar bill that was promptly referred to a select committee.⁴³ The committee reported a bill on February 25 that appropriated ten million dollars to aid emancipation in Maryland. It was to take effect in two years. A parliamentary objection was made, and Crisfield of Maryland said that the measure was not desired by his State. The bill was recommitted and never again reported.⁴⁴ Maryland was not ready to accept such a boon, chiefly because of her opposition to any form of enforced emancipation or coercion. Congress was not likely to force it upon her.

In January, 1863, G. Fred Maddox of Leonardtown, St. Mary's County, wrote Governor Bradford about the war in general and about state rights and the Negro question in particular.⁴⁵ He

⁴² *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Sess., 37th Congress, p. 283.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1293-1294. Leary and Thomas of Maryland voted for recommitment while Calvert, Crisfield, Webster, and May voted against it.

⁴⁵ Maddox to Bradford, January 9, 1863, Executive Letter Book, p. 353 *et seq.* This letter is also reprinted in *Baltimore American*, January 19, 1863, and *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, January 21, 1863.

urged the Governor to do something about runaway slaves. A military hospital near Leonardtown was being used to receive runaways, he said, and offered them protection. Maddox pointed out that a Maryland law subjected a party to indictment for harboring runaways and made it a penitentiary offense if convicted. He thought that Bradford should let his own opinion govern him when State laws thus conflicted with Federal laws or actions. He asked Bradford to support the Sheriff of St. Mary's County by sending the State militia to be used against the aggression of the Federal government in aiding runaways.

Bradford replied to Maddox on January 13.⁴⁶ He said the Union was attempting to suppress the South for renouncing the Constitution. It was therefore acting in self-defense and could not avoid occasional conflict with the rights of citizens. But loyal citizens would be indemnified after the war for losses suffered. It was foolish to suggest the use of the militia against the Federal force, said Bradford. It should be used only to suppress rebellious people within the State. Bradford said the main issue was to end the war as soon as possible. He was not willing to allow subordinate issues to weaken the Union by dividing its friends who agreed on the main issue.

Bradford's reply to Maddox was praised highly by the *Baltimore American*. It said: "We have not, during all the period since the conflict, or the dispute preliminary to it, begun, perused anything more to the purpose—more felicitous in its way, than Governor Bradford's response. . . ." ⁴⁷

Maddox had not exhausted himself, however, and on January 22 replied in a bitter tone to the Governor, condemning him for endorsing the many "infamous" actions of the administration.⁴⁸ He asked Bradford which of Lincoln's policies he supported, that of March 4, 1861, in which he said he had no intention of interfering with slavery in the states where it existed; or his January 1, 1863, Proclamation of Emancipation. The Governor, said Maddox, was shirking his duty by not protecting Maryland citizens, and by supporting the suppression of the rebellion by any means, constitutional or otherwise.

⁴⁶ Bradford to Maddox, January 13, 1863, Executive Letter Book, pp. 353-357; *Baltimore American*, January 19, 1863.

⁴⁷ January 19, 1861.

⁴⁸ Maddox to Bradford, *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, January 28, 1863.

As the institution of slavery gradually broke down in Maryland, the hostility of the agricultural district to free Negroes became evident. The citizens of Dorchester County met in January, 1863, and passed a series of resolutions demanding that the Maryland "vagrant" laws be enforced against Negroes. They declared

That Maryland can never be the paradise of free negroism—the free negro State of the Union. If involuntary negro servitude cannot exist, we must have exclusively white labor. That is, if in the providence of God, this country was intended as a home for the exclusive occupation of the white man, there should be no dark spots upon it—it should be white all over.⁴⁹

In March Thomas Swann, ex-Mayor of Baltimore, made pertinent remarks on the slave issue in a speech before the Union League of Philadelphia.⁵⁰ Swann declared that he was a Unionist above all else, and then expressed the conservative opinion of Maryland leaders to the effect that he opposed the introduction of the slave issue, in any form, into the management of the war. Yet, since Maryland had a large investment in slave property, Swann said he could not look with indifference upon the plan of compensated emancipation and colonization. Some such plan would have to be worked out, he said. Free Negroes and slaves totalled 170,000 in Maryland and when slaves were freed it would be impossible for this large number of Negroes to exist on terms of equality with free white labor. But Swann was opposed to coercion in emancipation, although, as a slaveholder for twenty years, he believed slavery had prevented growth and development in Maryland. It limited land values, cramped the energies of the people, and checked the increase of wealth by excluding both capital and population from the State. Boston, he said, had forged far ahead of Baltimore because capital and immigration flowed toward the free states. Maryland's soil was fertile and her natural resources unsurpassed, but Baltimore was still behind Boston. The abolition of slavery in Maryland would, he thought, be followed by additional manufactures, greater commerce, and increased land values.

"Free Labor" addressed the following query to the *Baltimore American* in May, 1863: "What is the position of the *American* on the question of emancipation in Maryland. Many of your

⁴⁹ *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, January 27, 1863.

⁵⁰ The speech was delivered March 2, 1863. Copy in Maryland Historical Society library.

readers are anxious that you should speak out definitely on the subject."⁵¹ In its answer, the *American* expressed surprise that "any one at this late date had any doubts as to the position of the *American* on this important subject." But its position was gladly given. It was

First—We believe that if slavery had been abolished in Maryland ten years ago, it would now rival Massachusetts in manufactures, wealth and commercial greatness.

Second—We believe that the sooner Maryland is rid of slavery the better it will be for the present generation and for those that are to come after us.

Third—We believe that slavery would long since have disappeared in Maryland if there had been no attempt made to force such a result. Emancipation was popular twenty years ago, and would have worked its own success if it had been left to itself.

Fourth—We believe that the slaveholders' rebellion has virtually staked the triumph or destruction of slavery in all the State as the issue of the conflict. If the Union is maintained slavery will fall everywhere, and will only exist as a weak State institution in a few of the Cotton States.

Fifth—If the rebellion should triumph, which is not a possibility, the destiny of Maryland with the free North is now fixed and unmistakable.

Sixth—We therefore regard it as self evident that slavery can no longer exist in Maryland as a means of profitable labor, and the sooner those interested in it come to the same conclusion the better for themselves.

Seventh—As to compensated emancipation, we are unwilling that those who do not own slaves should force those who do, especially the disloyal, to receive compensation from the government for them. If the compensation proposition is to be accepted, we think that the slaveholders themselves are the only parties who should apply to the government for its bounty.

Eighth—Believing that slavery in Maryland is now disappearing as rapidly as the most urgent could wish, we are opposed to the adoption of any hot-bed process. The next Legislature will be ripe for action on the subject, and those representing the slave interest will be most urgent to secure compensation.⁵²

As the summer of 1863 approached there were renewed attempts on the part of slaves to escape into the District of Columbia and other free territory. On June 20 Peter Grimes, Sheriff of Prince George's County, complained to Bradford of the large number of runaways from his county, and asked if he had the legal right to arrest them at their peril since they were usually armed. Grimes

⁵¹ *Baltimore American*, May 4, 1863.

⁵² *Ibid.*

also sought advice upon the calling out of a "Posse Comitatus."⁵³ Bradford replied that Grimes had the right to arrest them, but he did not think it wise to exercise it unless the arrests could be made peacefully. Nor would he advise the use of a "Posse Comitatus," for it would come into collision with the military authorities.⁵⁴

Serious problems arose when the enlistment of Maryland Negroes in the Federal service began in July, 1863. Colonel William Birney was directed by Secretary of War Stanton to organize a colored regiment,⁵⁵ whose members were to be credited to the State's quota just as were white troops.⁵⁶ Birney urged the Baltimore City Council, through Mayor John Lee Chapman, to make arrangements to pay bounties to colored troops so as to hasten their enlistment and complete Baltimore's quota.⁵⁷ The enlistment of colored troops was undertaken with vigor. When Major-General Schenck was informed that a number of slaves belonging to Southern sympathizers were imprisoned for safe-keeping in the slave prison of B. M. and W. L. Campbell at 282 West Pratt Street, Baltimore, he concluded to confiscate them. He ordered Colonel Birney to proceed to the place and make a suitable disposition of all confined there. Birney carried out the order at once. The slaves, belonging to "that old and notorious rebel," George H. Steuart, formerly a major-general of State militia, were enlisted in the Negro regiment. Other slaves were set at liberty, pleasing a large crowd that had gathered to witness the proceedings.⁵⁸

⁵³ Grimes to Bradford, June 20, 1863, Executive Letter Book, p. 428.

⁵⁴ Bradford to Grimes, June 23, 1863. *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Stanton to Major-General Robert C. Schenck, July 6, 1863, *Official Records*, 2nd Series, III, 470-471. Schenck was in command of the Middle Department, with headquarters at Baltimore.

⁵⁶ Stanton to Schenck, July 18, 1863. *Baltimore Sun*, July 28, 1863. This letter was forwarded to Chapman, Mayor of Baltimore.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, III (1863), 612. Birney's account is most enlightening. In his official report he wrote.

" . . . The part of the prison in which slaves are confined encloses a brick paved yard, twenty-five feet in width by forty in length. The front wall is a high brick one; the other sides are occupied by the cells of prisons. In this yard no tree or shrub grows—no flower or blade of grass can be seen. Here the mid-day sun pours down in scorching rays, and no breeze comes to temper the summer heat. A few benches, a hydrant, numerous wash-tubs and clothes-lines covered with drying clothes, were all it contained.

" In this place I found 26 men, one boy, 29 women and 3 infants. Sixteen of the men were shackled together by couples at the ankles, by heavy irons, and one had his legs chained together by ingeniously contrived locks connected by chains suspended to his waist. I sent for a blacksmith and had the shackles and chains removed. . . . These all expressed their desire to enlist in the service of the United

Enlistment of Negroes led to the absconding of slaves in large number; it also led to the discussion of the whole slave question. The non-slaveowners contended that to deprive the State of the hearty, strong, and able free blacks who performed the manual labor on the farms of the free counties and in Baltimore City, would leave those sections of the State without labor; or else, compel them, the most loyal sections of the State, to hire slave labor. They claimed that as long as slavery existed in Maryland free white labor would not enter the State to fill the place of the enlisted free colored laborer. This would give a new value to slavery which loyal men had hoped the war would destroy.⁵⁹ It was also urged by non-slaveholders that the enlistment of none but free colored persons would double the value of slave property, and indirectly put money into the hands of those hostile to the national government. To avoid such a result, they urged that slaves as well as free colored bear their proportion of the burden. The slaves, meanwhile, had ceased their attempts to escape to the District. They feared being caught by patrols and forced to enlist in the Negro regiment. The *Baltimore American* said that shortly the only slaves in Maryland who would desire to be free would be the aged and infirm.⁶⁰

There was much confusion and dissension over the Negro enlistments. Major-General Schenck was informed that Colonel Birney was interfering with slaves on the Eastern Shore, and Birney was directed to revoke at once all authority given to civilians, the chief offenders, to act as recruitment agents. Only commissioned officers were henceforth to perform such duties.⁶¹ Ex-Governor Hicks, describing to Lincoln the great excitement in Maryland caused by Negro recruitment, reported that slaves of loyal as well as disloyal persons were being enlisted either by force or by their own choice. This was a serious hardship to the

States, and were conducted to the recruiting office on Camden street, to be examined by the surgeons. . . .

"These unfortunates were all liberated in accordance with your orders. It appears from their statements that this slave-pen has been used chiefly for the purpose of holding persons, in evasion of the law of Congress, entitled to their freedom in the District of Columbia, and persons claimed as slaves by rebels or rebel sympathizers. See Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, Document No. 116, pp. 394-395.

⁵⁹ *Appleton's* III (1863), pp. 614-615.

⁶⁰ September 21, 1863.

⁶¹ Assistant Adjutant General C. W. Foster to Schenck, September 2, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 760-761.

farmers at this season of "fodder saving, wheat seeding, and corn gathering." Left without labor, the farmers were rapidly becoming antagonistic to the Lincoln administration, said Hicks. He did not protest against the recruiting of Negroes but the manner in which it was done. For instance, the rumor was circulating over the Eastern Shore that Birney was bringing colored companies in uniform to Talbot County, there to strut before the Negroes and aid hasty enlistment. Hicks stoutly opposed this, and said he spoke not only for himself but also for a deputation of "good and respectable Union" men of Talbot County who had come to him for advice. There was no need, he said, to arouse their resentment against the Lincoln Administration by using colored troops in the process of recruitment.⁶²

Shortly thereafter Judge Hugh Lennox Bond⁶³ of the Baltimore Circuit Court addressed a long and urgent letter to Secretary of War Stanton in relation to the enlistment of Negroes. He objected to limiting enlistment to free Negroes when there were nearly as many slaves who could be enlisted. While Baltimore and other free counties were losing their labor force, slave property in other counties was increasing in value, and slaveholders profiting. Bond urged the War Department to issue a proclamation stipulating that all Negroes, free or slave, be enlisted.⁶⁴

Bond's proposal was bitterly opposed by a large group in Maryland. The Baltimore *Sun* claimed that he had urged the War Department to "entice and persuade" slaves in Maryland to abscond from their masters and enlist in the army.⁶⁵ This, said the *Sun*, was contrary to the Maryland criminal code which forbade any person to entice, persuade, assist, or offer any inducement to any slave or servant to desert his master. The penalty was not less than six nor more than fifteen years for such an offense.⁶⁶

Judge Bond's letter prompted Governor Bradford to publish

⁶² Hicks to Lincoln, September 4, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 767-768.

⁶³ A strongly partisan Union man whose "always decided opinions were sometime based on too strong prejudice. . . ." For a sketch of Bond see Henry P. Goddard, "Some Distinguished Marylanders I Have Known," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV (1907), 27 *et seq.* Bond became a very strong unconditional Unionist and emancipationist.

⁶⁴ Baltimore *Sun*, September 7, 1863; J. T. Scharf says this letter attracted much attention in the North and was widely copied by its journals. *History of Maryland*, III, 571.

⁶⁵ September 11, 1863.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, citing section 176 of article 30 of the criminal code.

his views on slavery. Representative Francis Thomas had already urged Bradford to express publicly the views he had expressed in private conversation with him.⁶⁷ Bradford now wrote a letter that was printed in the newspapers and received much attention. He declared that the loyal people of Maryland had been in the majority since the Civil War began. They had believed, he said, in a subordination of all local issues, including slavery, to the real issue of preserving the Union. Nevertheless the slave question could not escape a certain amount of attention in the country, especially after Lincoln's various messages and proclamations regarding it. Maryland, said Bradford, had three classes in respect to the slave question. The rebel sympathizers hoped that the South would win the war and preserve slavery. The progress of the war, however, had discouraged this hope, and many of this group were looking for means that would enable them to salvage what they could of the system. They would accept compensated emancipation, he believed, if all other methods failed. The second group in Maryland, though strongly Unionist, was attached to slavery and hoped that both it and the Union could be preserved. But they, too, said the governor, saw that as unlikely of fulfillment, and were ready to agree to emancipation, particularly since a contrary course would hinder the preservation of the Union. They had come to favor gradual and compensated emancipation. Bradford believed this was the largest group in the State.

Bradford expressed a fear to Thomas that the third group in Maryland would attempt to rush the State headlong into emancipation by some "short cut contrary to the current into which it is so satisfactorily gliding." For years, he said, most of the people of Maryland had realized that a change in the labor system was due, but felt that it should be a gradual change so as to prevent evil consequences to either the slave or the master. He favored a State convention as a constitutional means of settling the slave question in Maryland, and said he planned to recommend to the legislature, when it met in January, that it call one. It would be a quick means of testing the sentiment of the State, and would preclude the necessity of Federal coercion, so strongly opposed by Maryland.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Bradford to Thomas, September 9, 1863, Bradford MSS. This is a copy of the original, to which Bradford affixed his signature. See also Executive Letter Book, September 9, 1863, pp. 446-450.

⁶⁸ Bradford stated that the Constitutional Convention of 1851 was authorized by

Governor Bradford protested vigorously against Judge Bond's proposal to enlist slaves as well as free Negroes in Maryland. He was surprised that one occupying Bond's important position, could advise so flagrant a violation of the laws of the State and the general sentiment of its citizens, or how any loyal man at such a time as this could suggest a proceeding so well calculated to impair public confidence in the Administration when such confidence is so important to its success.

Bradford was sure that Maryland would not be coerced in the matter. He conceded that Bond's plan might be a "military necessity," but felt it would be impossible to convince the slaveholders of Maryland of this fact. They would consider it a political expediency by which they would lose their able-bodied slaves and be left only with the infirm ones to care for. To them the scheme was a "hazardous experiment," that would awaken "a sense of wrong and a feeling of indignation and disgust." The illegality of the action would be resented even more than the financial loss it would involve. The governor expressed confidence that Lincoln would repudiate such a policy and arrest the proceedings of recruiting officers who were even at that time recruiting slaves illegally.

The position taken by Bradford in his letter to Thomas was widely commented upon and generally favorably. Congressman Edwin H. Webster, then in command of a Maryland regiment in the Army of the Potomac, wrote: "You say the right thing at the right time. . . ." ⁶⁹ He said the men in his regiment gave it their "unqualified approval"; they were in favor of gradual emancipation. Montgomery Blair also sent expressions of approval.⁷⁰ In a letter thanking Blair for his support, Bradford described the conduct of recruitment officers on the Eastern Shore. They not only took slaves but also gave their owners no opportunity to identify them for possible indemnity in the future. Although he had been led to believe by both Lincoln and Stanton that there was no plan to enlist slaves, he knew that scores were being enlisted. If unauthorized, "then why in God's name permit it?" Blair, as a resident of Maryland, was asked to help put a stop to it. The secessionists and Democrats were reaping advantage from the opposition offered by conservative Unionists to slave enlistments,

an act of the legislature immediately preceding it. Thus it was a quick means of action, he said, and should satisfy all in the State.

⁶⁹ Webster to Bradford, September 13, 1863, Bradford MSS.

⁷⁰ Blair to Bradford, September 12, 1863, Bradford MSS.

and Bradford predicted that if the practise continued, "we are given over in spite of all we can do, once more to Democratic rule."⁷¹

Other leaders and private citizens in Maryland expressed their approval of Bradford's attack on Bond's position. Colonel George E. Leonard sent word from Allegany County that he fully concurred.⁷² George Vickers of Chestertown likewise signified his approval, saying that Judge Bond must "either be infatuated or is looking for some valuable office or preferment, but surely no grosser violation of law, justice, and constitution was ever contemplated."⁷³ Vickers feared that "rabid republicans" of Bond's type would "precipitate and force emancipation upon Maryland without regard to time, means, or compensation." Two days later Bradford received another letter from Chestertown signed by Vickers, James B. Ricaud, George B. Wescott, and S. N. Spencer. They approved Bradford's letter to Thomas, and made the now familiar complaint that slaves on the Eastern Shore were being enlisted illegally. Eastern Shore farms would be devoid of all labor unless it were stopped at once, said these men.⁷⁴

Thomas Swann, Chairman of the Union State Central Committee, wrote to Bradford that on behalf of the Committee he had taken the liberty of ordering that two thousand copies of Bradford's letter to Congressman Thomas be printed. It was to be circulated with the address and proceedings of the Union State Central Committee, for they expressed a great similiarity of views. "The letter has already had its effect among conservative men of all parties and my desire is that it should be extensively circulated and read by the people of this State," wrote Swann.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Bradford to Blair, September 11, 1863, Bradford MSS. As early as June, 1862, Blair had stated that he favored emancipation but only by the consent of the owners and with just compensation. See *Maryland Union* (Frederick), June 26, 1862.

In November Blair wrote to Bradford advising a special session of the Maryland legislature to consider emancipation. He saw the main problem as that of securing compensation. "I would like you," said Blair, "to move too so as to take the wind out of the sails of our more ambitious emancipators." Blair to Bradford, November 6, 1863, Bradford MSS. See *ibid.*, November 11, for another letter to Bradford from Blair expressing the same thoughts.

⁷² Colonel George E. Leonard to Bradford, September 13, 1863, Bradford MSS. Leonard stated that he had met Bradford at Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania.

⁷³ Vickers to Bradford, September 14, 1863, Bradford MSS.

⁷⁴ Vickers, *et al.*, to Bradford, September 16, 1863, Bradford MSS.

⁷⁵ Swann to Bradford, September 14, 1863, Bradford MSS. For the address of the Union States Central Committee, see *Appleton's III* (1863), 617-618.

James Touchstone of Culpeper, Virginia, expressed the most violent criticism of Bond's letter and strongly supported Bradford. He was of the opinion that Bond's object was to "toady to the present administration. . . . He has certainly degraded the office he fills by making himself a pioneer in the dirty cause of abolitionism. And in my humble opinion he has acted contrary to the spirit of his *obligations* as a Maryland jurist. In fact, he has brought the good and true, loyal and pure men of Maryland to shame."⁷⁶

The *Baltimore American* observed that when the highest officials in the State were compelled by a circumstance, as in the case of Bradford and a "prominent Judge," to enter the debate on slavery, it assumed "a character which must attract attention, and precipitates conclusions little dreamed of but a brief period since."⁷⁷ It had warned Maryland, said the *American*, that the slave question would assume a prominent position in State affairs, despite the assertions of "short-sighted gentlemen" twelve months previously that the question of emancipation, or all agitation of it, "could be smothered, frowned down, quashed," thus leaving the institution undisturbed in Maryland. Its warnings, however, had been received "ungraciously," although slaves were even then absconding from all parts of the State. "Fossilized politicians" in the State had "shut their eyes to the facts," as though ignoring them would "suffice to prevent their occurrence." Meanwhile the issue had become the most prominent one in the State, and involved high State officials in an open debate on it.⁷⁸

Insofar as the specific Bradford-Bond debate was concerned the *American* believed that, based on technicalities of law, the Governor undoubtedly had the advantage over the Judge, as there was no constitutional power, state or federal, to employ slaves in the army. But this journal thought that if the President could confiscate horses, cattle, or other property for war purposes, slaves might also be included. And on the question of "common justice to all those who are liable to be drafted, the Judge, we think, had the advantage of the Governor." Only the families of the slaves enlisted would suffer real hardships, for by the enlistment of the slave, white labor could stay at home and that was "much more

⁷⁶ Touchstone to Bradford, September 29, 1863, Bradford MSS.

⁷⁷ September 22, 1863.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

important to the interests of the State than its slave labor." The owner would thus have labor, and his slave would likely be a better soldier than he or his sons. The non-slaveholders, unable to pay three hundred dollars for exemption, would be saved from conscription if the slaves filled the quotas. The slaves, moreover, were willing soldiers because their freedom would be obtained at the end of the war by virtue of their military service. The *American* was glad that Bradford favored emancipation through the means of a State convention, but believed that before such a convention could be assembled, slavery would have been abolished in Maryland.⁷⁹

Negro recruiting in Maryland progressed so well that Birney soon had a colored regiment ready to make its appearance in Baltimore. The parade which it staged in the city is vividly described:

The parade through the city . . . of Colonel Birney's colored regiment, numbering over one thousand sable warriors, was a novel sight in Baltimore. They were in full dress, with white gloves, well fitting clothes, and were undoubtedly a model of cleanliness in their general appearance. In physical qualities they are strong, stout and muscular, and moved with an excellent military bearing, carrying their arms as if they were proud of them.—They were accompanied by a brass band, the members of which enlisted in a body from Hagerstown. The officers, above the Sergeants, are all white.—The Secessionists call them 'Abe Lincoln's Sipoy,' but the mechanics and poor white men who are not able to pay \$300 for exemption, viewed them as their *substitutes* for the approaching draft.⁸⁰

Governor Bradford protested to President Lincoln on September 28, 1863, against enlistment officers who still enticed slaves to abscond in Maryland, and who committed other offensive practices.⁸¹ Lincoln telegraphed Bradford to come to Washington in connection with the matter. He did so at once and talked unofficially with Secretary of War Stanton. They decided that the policy of enlisting free Maryland Negroes should be continued, but that slaves should be enlisted only with their owners' consent unless they were needed to fill Maryland's quotas. In the latter case, however, the owners should file deeds of manumission and

⁷⁹ *Baltimore American*, September 21, 1863. The *American* turned out to be a very poor prophet. The position of the *American* is not entirely clear throughout, for it is recalled that Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1, 1863, was not favored by it.

⁸⁰ *Baltimore American*, September 18, 1863.

⁸¹ Bradford to Lincoln, September 28, 1863, Executive Letter Book, pp. 451-454; *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 855-856. Bradford asked Senators Hicks and Reverdy Johnson to look over his letter before he sent it.

receive compensation for the labor or services of their slaves. Disloyal owners were not to be eligible for compensation. An elaborate procedure was arranged by which compensation should be obtained.⁸²

After his return to Maryland, Bradford requested Stanton to extend the time for enlistment of slaves from thirty to sixty days. Thirty days, he said, was inadequate time to inform the State of the plan they had agreed on. If rushed into it, the people would be prejudiced against it. Bradford asserted that slaves should not be enlisted without their owners' consent for at least sixty days, since their labor was needed at this time of the year. Owners of slaves already enlisted illegally should be allowed to identify them for the sake of future indemnity claims.⁸³ Reverdy Johnson, Charles B. Calvert, and other Maryland citizens also interviewed President Lincoln, protesting against the outrages of recruiting. A Washington correspondent said that Lincoln promised to put an end to such outrages.⁸⁴

Lincoln did, in fact, direct Stanton to issue a general order on October 3, that regulated much more strictly the enlistment of colored troops in Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee.⁸⁵ The order provided that only able-bodied men should be enlisted, that they should be credited to the State and county quotas, and be free after the war. Free Negroes and slaves, with the consent of loyal owners but not with the consent of disloyal owners, were to be enlisted first. If, in thirty days, this number was not adequate, slaves of loyal owners who had not given their consent, should be enlisted. Loyal owners were to be compensated, whether they gave their consent or not, at not over \$300 a slave when they filed deeds of manumission. A board was to be appointed to audit such claims.⁸⁶

This order gave general satisfaction. It helped to fill the army;

⁸² Stanton to Lincoln, October 1, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 855-856. In this letter Stanton reports to Lincoln his conversation with Bradford.

⁸³ Bradford to Stanton, October 3, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 862-863.

⁸⁴ *Baltimore Sun*, October 5, 1863. Shortly thereafter other gentlemen from the lower Maryland counties called upon Lincoln to lodge the same protest. One owner, Oden Bowie, had lost seventy able-bodied slaves. Nearly as large a number were left but they were unable to work because of age or other infirmities.

⁸⁵ General Orders No. 329, October 3, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 860-861. This order was later applied to Delaware.

⁸⁶ For these regulations see Stanton to Bradford, October 5, 1863, Executive Letter Book, 455-456; Bradford to Stanton, October 8, *ibid.*, p. 456.

it aided and stimulated State emancipation; it compensated slave owners; and it lightened the burden of the draft upon white citizens.⁸⁷ Bradford and others accepted the plan as inevitable although they did not approve of the enlistment of slaves. If the owners were willing, there could be no objection. But if they were not, coercion must be used and this was deplored on all sides. Opposition continued to some extent, although the new plan of enlistment was generally accepted. Vickers resisted the recruiting so effectively in Kent County that Birney was directed by Lincoln to call it off for the time being. After investigating the activities of Vickers, Birney found that he had formerly been a "noisy constitutional Union man," but on slave questions had become a virulent enemy of the government and associated with known secessionists. He was said to have organized a mob to burn the small government steamer sent to Chestertown to carry colored troops to recruiting headquarters. Birney also reported that Judge Richard B. Carmichael⁸⁸ of Easton was an active opponent of Negro enlistment. Birney reported that, as a whole, the Eastern Shore favored the recruitment of colored troops and aided him as much as possible. Only a few rebel sympathizers, slaveholders, and politicians stood in the way.⁸⁹ They sent a deputation to Lincoln on October 23 in protest. He responded that the country was in need of troops. If recruiting officers acted contrary to the law they would be superseded, but the recruiting must go on as long as there were quotas to fill.⁹⁰ The opposition was bent upon harassing recruiting officers, however, as long as Negroes were enlisted. One officer was killed in St. Mary's County while recruiting was temporarily suspended.⁹¹

⁸⁷ By October 3, 1863, between 1,250 and 1,300 slaves had been recruited by Colonel Birney and his officers. This did not include free colored troops. Birney to Lincoln, October 3, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 862. Lincoln had asked for this information.

⁸⁸ A circuit court judge whose arrest while on the bench in 1862 created a sensation in Maryland.

⁸⁹ Birney to "Adjutant General, U. S. Army," October 13, 1863, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 881-882.

⁹⁰ *Baltimore American*, October 23, 1863. See also *Baltimore Sun*, October 23, 1863. In December, Vickers and other Kent County citizens were still protesting against slave enlistments. Vickers to Bradford, December 15 and 19, 1863, Bradford MSS.

⁹¹ Bradford to C. C. Magruder, October 26, 1863, Executive Letter Book, pp. 470-473. Magruder, in behalf of the citizens of Upper Marlboro, Prince George's County, had written to Bradford on October 22, protesting against Negroes being carried off to Washington, *Ibid.*, pp. 469-470.

In anticipation of the election of 1863, a great Union meeting was held at Elkton, Cecil County, on October 6, at which Pennsylvania and Delaware were also represented. Emancipation in Maryland was prominent in the discussion and in the speeches delivered by Henry Winter Davis, Colonel John A. J. Creswell, General Goldsborough, and Colonel Piatt. The prevailing feeling was one of enthusiasm for emancipation, and for making Maryland a free State with free labor.⁹²

The *Baltimore American* continued its agitation for emancipation as the election approached. Emancipation would mean, it said, that the Capital at Washington, located on Maryland soil, would henceforth be located away from slave surroundings. Material reasons also urged that Maryland should have emancipation, said this paper. Robert J. Walker was quoted as saying: "Take down the barriers of slavery and a new and unprecedented current of population and capital will flow into the State. Property would rise immensely in value; the price of her lands would soon reach that of Pennsylvania. . . . Baltimore would fulfill her mighty destiny. . . ." Census figures, comparing Massachusetts with Maryland, were presented to show that Maryland was greatly retarded by slavery. Emancipation, it was argued, would mean great economic progress.⁹³

The November elections returned a majority to the State Legislature pledged to vote for a convention that, it was hoped, would abolish slavery in Maryland. When the legislature met in January it authorized the call of such a convention if the people voted in favor of it on April 6. This Legislature also protested the action of Colonel Birney who sent about 150 Negro soldiers into Charles and St. Mary's counties with orders to seize and take into Birney's "Negro encampment" at Benedict, for enlistment, all Negroes found upon plantations or elsewhere. A joint committee was appointed that protested to President Lincoln such outrages.

Announcement was made in January that a Board of Claims would henceforth be in session in Baltimore to decide upon compensation for slaves enlisted in Maryland. Claims were to be filed before March 1. Owners were directed to present certificates of enlistment from the recruiting officers, valid deeds of manumission and release of service, and affidavits of ownership. Two witnesses

⁹² *Baltimore American*, October 9, 10, 1863.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

were to be brought along and an oath taken to certify that the slave was not one of a disloyal owner.⁹⁴

Montgomery Blair, Senator Hicks, and Thomas Swann spoke by request before the Maryland Legislature on January 22, 1864. Blair and Hicks both favored emancipation for Maryland, while Swann was more emphatic, and declared that "immediate emancipation" was the only remedy. He avowed his intention, and that of his friends to push the "steed of Emancipation" with "whip and spur, until every valley and every hill-top shall feel the tramp of his glorious mission, and the whole state of Maryland, from its centre to its circumference, shall be awakened to an edict of universal Emancipation."⁹⁵

Throughout the early months of 1864 liberal sentiment that promised to put an end to slavery in Maryland continued to grow.⁹⁶ Much interest was shown in the approaching election to decide whether or not a Constitutional Convention should be held.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ *Baltimore Sun*, January 2, 18, 1864. Under this set-up the whole number of claims presented up to October 4, 1864, was 2,015. By October 1, 244 of these claims had been passed upon by the Commission. Nine were rejected and awards were made upon the remainder in proportion to the term of service which the recruit had owed to the claimant prior to enlistment. Twenty-five of the accepted claims, amounting in the aggregate to \$6,900, had been paid by October 1 by the disbursing officer attached to the Bureau of Colored troops. Unpaid claims amounting to \$47,800, were reported on file on October 20, 1864. *Official Records*, 3rd Series, IV, 790.

⁹⁵ *Baltimore Sun*, January 25, 1864. In connection with this visit to the Legislature, George Earle of the State Court of Appeals in Annapolis, wrote to John A. J. Creswell:

"I learn that Governor Hicks and Sec. Blair are to be here on next Wed. evening to address the members of the Legislature and to instruct them in the path of duty. The object is good enough, but the friends of the President who advocated his measures, throughout the last canvass of Maryland, are entitled to the credit of his re-nomination, and should not be deprived of it by those who came to his support at the eleventh hour. You and Mr. Davis should attend the legislative meeting on Wednesday night, and speak as long and loud as Messrs. Hicks and Blair." George Earle to John A. J. Creswell, January 18, 1864, Creswell MSS.

⁹⁶ Some in Maryland opposed this trend to the very end, and Bradford received numerous letters in connection with emancipation and particularly in reference to the enlistment of Negroes. Dr. Thomas King Carroll of Church Creek, Dorchester County, wrote on May 5, 1864, to Bradford that Negro soldiers under an unknown white officer had taken Negroes away to service, including the old, the sick, and one nearly blind. Most of them were free Negroes not subject to the draft, he said. *Executive Letter Book*, 528-532.

⁹⁷ No attempt is made here to cover in detail the events leading up to the Convention, its proceedings, or the new Constitution it drew up. This has all been admirably done by W. S. Myers, in *Maryland Constitution of 1864*. Our purpose is to summarize this phase of the slavery question in Maryland and to fit it in with our general discussion. A good survey may also be found in *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia* (1864), IV, pp. 497-498, and William A. Russ, Jr., "Disfranchisement in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (1933), 316-319.

President Lincoln stated that it need not be a secret that he wished success to emancipation in Maryland. "It would aid much to end the rebellion, since it is a matter of national consequence in which every national man may rightfully feel a deep interest." He hoped nothing would be allowed to divide and distract the friends of the plan.⁹⁸

When the popular vote was taken the question of emancipation had gained a notable success, for there was a majority of over twelve thousand in favor of holding the Convention. Sixty-one of the delegates elected were emancipationists and only thirty-five belonged to the opposition. But it must be explained that two-thirds of the voters were disfranchised. Only 10,000 out of 40,000 in Baltimore and only 35,000 out of 95,000 in the whole State were allowed to vote.⁹⁹

Governor Bradford, acting under the power invested in him by the Constitutional Act of the Legislature, proclaimed that the desired convention would be convened at Annapolis on April 27.¹⁰⁰ Sessions of this convention lasted from that date until September 6. Long before this, however, the main question that had called the Convention into being had been settled. On June 24, by a vote of 53 yeas and 27 nays, the Convention adopted an article declaring that "hereafter in this State there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free."¹⁰¹

The new Constitution was adopted on September 6, 1864, by a convention vote of 53-25, but thirty-five who voted for it later joined in a protest against it because of alleged irregularity. The next step was to submit the Constitution to the people at large.

⁹⁸ Lincoln to John A. J. Creswell, March 17, 1864, Nicolay and Hay, VIII, 465.

⁹⁹ W. A. Russ, Jr., *loc. cit.*, p. 319.

¹⁰⁰ *The Baltimore American*, April 1, 1864, had this to say about eligibility to vote: "The citizens of Maryland are only those who regard her obligations under the Constitution to uphold the Government of the United States against all enemies and traitors. Those who have taken the opposite ground have forfeited all rights of citizenship."

¹⁰¹ "In the language of a recent speech of Major General Lew. Wallace, commanding in this department, '*Rebels and traitors have no political rights.*' Let Union men see that they do not attempt to exercise that most inestimable one of the loyal citizen—the elective franchise."

¹⁰⁰ *Baltimore American*, April 16, 1864. Bradford's Proclamation was issued on April 14.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, June 25, 1864.

October 12 and 13 were set aside for this vote. During the next month the Constitution was vigorously discussed in public and private by the strong parties that arrayed themselves for and against it. On October 10 a meeting was held in Baltimore to aid in securing its ratification. A letter was read from President Lincoln in which he endorsed the provision of the new Constitution that emancipated slaves.¹⁰² The election on October 12 and 13 turned out to be one of the most closely contested in Maryland during the Civil War. Rigid surveillance was adopted to prevent disloyal persons from voting, while liberal provisions were set up for taking the vote of Maryland soldiers in the field. After listening to argument by brilliant lawyers for three days as to the constitutionality of the soldier vote, Governor Bradford announced the vote on October 29: 30,174 had voted for and 29,799 against the new Constitution.¹⁰³

This vote was disputed by the opponents of the Constitution who accused Governor Bradford of indiscretion in ascertaining the result. They wanted the soldiers' vote thrown out because of frauds. This would have defeated the Constitution.¹⁰⁴ A case was taken to the State Court of Appeals but the vote was sustained. This, however, did not settle the question in the minds of many who still protested against frauds and appealed to Governor Bradford to withdraw his proclamation announcing the vote. This he refused to do. He sat up all night writing his proclamation that put the new Constitution in effect.¹⁰⁵ Slaves were to be freed on November 1, 1864.

The adoption of test oaths caused the bitterest controversy during the whole procedure of framing the new Constitution. Such an oath had been prescribed by the 1864 Legislature. All

¹⁰² Lincoln to Henry W. Hoffman, October 10, 1864, Nicolay and Hay, VIII, 467.

¹⁰³ *Baltimore American*, October 31, 1864; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 31; *Baltimore Sun*, October 31, 1864.

¹⁰⁴ The soldiers' vote was 2,633 for the Constitution, and 263 against it. McPherson, *Political History*, pp. 459-460. See W. S. Myers, *Maryland Constitution of 1864*, p. 95, *et seq.* for this dispute.

¹⁰⁵ See letter of Samuel Bradford, son of Governor Bradford, to Matthew Page Andrews, February 19, 1922, *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, I, 878.

Those arguing before Bradford against the election returns and for the Democratic State Central Committee were William Schley, I. Nevitt Steele, and Thomas S. Alexander. Representing the Republican party, and upholding the decision finally proclaimed by Governor Bradford, were Henry Winter Davis and Henry Stockbridge. The Democratic State Convention protested the Governor's action and on October 28, Chairman Bowie and Secretary Knott argued in vain for a recount.

parties whose votes were challenged on April 6 were required to swear that they had not served in the "rebel army" or given aid and comfort to the Confederacy. The voters were asked: "Have you . . . rejoiced over the defeat of the Union Army?" Have you been loyal ever since the beginning of the rebellion?" The rigid enforcement of this oath deprived voters who had once been secessionists of their vote, and the majority vote by which the convention had been called was thereby increased. A second oath was required by the new Constitution itself; and was similar to that provided for by the Legislature. This oath and eleven test questions were required of voters at the election of October 12 and 13 when the Constitution was adopted. One of the questions asked was: "When the Union and Rebel armies meet in battle, which side do you wish to see succeed?"

The test oath and the soldiers' vote constituted the margin of victory for the Constitution, and its opponents refused to accept the result without a fight. The main question in controversy was whether the test oath, prescribed by the Constitution, could be legally imposed on voters in the election ratifying that Constitution. In a number of counties mass meetings were held and resolutions adopted protesting the manner of adoption of the Constitution. Bradford was petitioned to revoke the announcement of adoption since the Constitution of 1851 was legally in effect until November 1 when the new Constitution became effective.¹⁰⁶ But Governor Bradford, in a letter to George Vickers, justified the application of the test oath as follows:

In regard to the query propounded by one of your judges of election, and mentioned in your postscript, as to whether I would refuse to count the vote of a district where the judges did not certify that the oath required by the convention had been administered. I would say what you are, of course, aware of, that by another clause in the Constitution proposed, I am expressly enjoined not to count such votes. That for the reasons already given, I hold myself bound by that requirement, and were I to disregard it, it would be as effectually to annul the action of the convention as if I had acceded to your request, and directed the judges of election not to administer the oath required.¹⁰⁷

Bradford refused to go beyond the returns, claiming that his duties were merely ministerial. The Convention, he said, had

¹⁰⁶ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 595.

¹⁰⁷ *Baltimore American*, September 30, 1864; *Baltimore Sun*, September 30, 1864.

plenary powers and thus could require such an oath even when its own constitution was being voted upon. He cited the Convention of 1850-1851 as a precedent.¹⁰⁸

Violent opposition was expressed to the new Constitution. Elihu S. Riley, a contemporary writer who expressed the reaction of many, said:

The Federal Government will never discharge its just obligations until it has paid every dollar of slave property taken from the people of Maryland by this Constitution. Foremost in the effort to abate the evils of African slavery, the people of Maryland, unfettered by the Federal army, would never have consented to the unjust destruction of millions of property without compensation to its owners. Unassisted by test oaths, supported alone by Federal authority, and unaided by Federal bayonets, the Constitution of 1864 would never have been adopted, if, indeed, it was at all, because it assailed the honesty and integrity of Maryland, and was in the very teeth of its honest and overwhelming political sentiments and its public morality in taking property from its owners without just compensation.¹⁰⁹

The *Maryland Union* of Frederick placed the blame for the illegality of the adoption of the constitution on Governor Bradford.¹¹⁰ It declared that his name was destined to become a byword and a reproach in Maryland for the next half century. He had proclaimed the adoption of the Constitution even after it was "proved to him that the army vote was larger than all the troops that Maryland had in the field, including minors, unnaturalized and Negroes! He did this after it was proved to him that more illegal and fraudulent votes had been cast in the army than the majority by which it was claimed that the New Constitution had been carried." This paper therefore, could not "find words sufficiently strong, in the English language, to express our feelings toward the man. . . . We do not think a single man of the many thousand in Maryland who were so shamefully deceived and betrayed will ever wish to look upon him again." Since Bradford had "served the abolitionists so faithfully," the *Maryland Union* surmised that they would "pay him for his property which the rebels destroyed."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁹ Elihu S. Riley, *A History of the General Assembly of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 377. Riley was Clerk of the Assembly until arrested with members of the Legislature in September, 1861. His opinion was a prejudiced one, but it was held by many people in the State.

¹¹⁰ November 3, 1864.

¹¹¹ This was a reference to the burning of Bradford's home on July 11, 1864.

The majority of the people, however, welcomed the new constitution, even if dubious of the method by which it had been adopted. Governor Bradford received many letters of congratulations for his part in its adoption. Dr. Christopher C. Cox of Baltimore County wrote that the State owed Bradford a tremendous debt of gratitude for his "manly, intelligent, and patriotic position" which assured the adoption of the Constitution. He thought that if it had not been adopted, Maryland would have receded twenty-five years from the existing point of progress.¹¹² The *Baltimore American* was in "receipt of abundant congratulations from the loyal press of the North upon the emancipation of slavery in Maryland. It is vastly pleasant to be thus welcomed into the sisterhood of Free States. . . ." ¹¹³ The *Frederick Examiner* paid high tribute to Bradford for his part in the realization of emancipation.

Great epochs have their individual associations which pass with them into recorded history. By the light of this truism, it is easy to perceive that the pen of the future historian will indissolubly connect the name of Augustus W. Bradford, Governor of Maryland, with the memorable event of Emancipation consummated during his administration, and will ascribe the meed of praise to the exalted benevolence, patriotism and statesmanship that actuated him in the trying ordeal immediately preceding the Proclamation of the Free Constitution. Other faithful laborers in the good cause may be forgotten, but he will live remembered.¹¹⁴

It was the *Baltimore American*, however, that reached new heights in lavishing praise upon Governor Bradford. On November 1, the day the slaves were freed in Maryland, it published an editorial entitled "The Day and the Governor." Concerning Governor Bradford's part in emancipation, the editorial said:

But there was one that we shall hold in eternal remembrance; one who stood by us under Providence as firm as the everlasting rock-ribbed hills. Through night and storm this watchful pilot remained at his post; true to his instincts as a man of unflinching honor, of unbending rectitude, of unswerving patriotism. Read his masterly opinion and see how neatly he turns the weapons of his adversaries. Badgered and bullied day after day, as he was by the enemies of the best interests of the State, he never for an instant lost sight of his inner promptings as a true gentleman; but

Maryland Union, November 3, 1864. This paper attacked Bradford on October 13, 1864, for his stand on the test oath.

¹¹² Cox to Bradford, November 13, 1864, Bradford MSS.

¹¹³ November 2, 1864.

¹¹⁴ November 16, 1864.

kindly and patiently met their objections with that legal acumen and that intelligent force for which he is so highly distinguished. He meets arguments with arguments; he handles with skill and judgment the weapons of right reason; he combats and disposes of every point argued in opposition to his course; his decision is acceptable because it is not that of a partisan politician, but of an upright judge, a careful, and profound scholar, and a man rigidly and sternly conscientious. Never was any man more beset by the enemies of freedom to be unfaithful to his Trust than the Governor of this State; but amid the reviling and persecution of his assailants, amid bribes and threats, he was true to duty; true to his state; true to facts as they occurred; true to law and the testimony; true to the Christian sentiments of the age.

When Maryland receives the benefits which will be conferred upon her by the operation of the new Constitution; there will be no prouder name for her to cherish than that of its defender, Augustus W. Bradford.¹¹⁵

November 1 was called the "Birth Day of American Freedom," and henceforth Maryland should celebrate it along with Thanksgiving. And those who had opposed the adoption of the Constitution would "become convinced of their error by the prosperity" to follow. The *American* thanked the soldiers "of our state for their instrumentality in the accomplishment of this grand result. . . . They came to the rescue when they were sorely needed and thus doubled our obligations for their service."¹¹⁶

Augustus W. Bradford had truly played a large part in the final emancipation of slaves in Maryland. Although the Constitution of 1851 prohibited the Legislature from abolishing the relation of master and slave, Bradford was convinced that it could legally be repealed. He had therefore urged upon the Legislature the necessity of calling a State convention. The time had arrived, he believed, for Maryland to take the initiative in ridding herself of slavery, an economic and social evil. Bradford's refusal to throw out the contested votes of the soldiers had saved the Constitution of 1864, and made possible the abolition of slaves. Many of those who opposed his actions in 1864 became his staunch defenders in later years just as the *Baltimore American* had predicted. His "calm, cool, judgement," had prevailed over the impetuosity of others.¹¹⁷

Freedom granted suddenly to 87,000 slaves naturally brought on serious problems. The newly freed Negroes were too poor,

¹¹⁵ November 1, 1864.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 138.

ignorant, and helpless to understand or accept all the attendant duties and obligations of freedom. Many former masters looked upon them with contempt and only a few were willing to aid them. A very few talked of immediate social and political equality. Many of the more tenacious slave-holders took advantage of an unrepealed provision in the Black Code of the State laws that allowed Negro slave children to be bound out for terms of apprenticeship without the consent of their parents. Since connivance with court officials helped to make this possible, appeal to the courts was "worse than folly even if victims had the money with which to hire lawyers."¹¹⁸ Parents of the young Negroes were in no position to protest if apprenticeship was resorted to before November 1, 1864, but the practice continued even after the day of freedom.

There was danger that a species of slavery or peonage would thus be perpetuated in Maryland. Major-General Lewis Wallace, commanding the Middle Department, decided, therefore, to take matters into his own hands until January, 1865, session of the Legislature could pass laws for the protection of Negroes. He issued "General Orders No. 112," on November 9, 1864, by which a "Freedmen's Bureau" was created for the Middle Department. Major William M. Este, Wallace's aide-de-camp, was placed in charge.¹¹⁹ The "Maryland Club House" in Baltimore, was to be used as the Bureau's headquarters and as a Negro hospital under the name "Freedmen's Rest."¹²⁰ Freedmen were placed under special military protection until the Legislature met, and provost-marshals, "particularly those on the Eastern and Western Shores," were to "hear all complaints made to them by persons within the meaning of this order," and to "collect and forward information and proof of wrongs done to such persons, and generally . . . render Major Este such assistance as he may require in the performance of his duty." And

lest the moneys derived from donations, and from fines collected, prove insufficient to support the institution in a manner corresponding to its im-

¹¹⁸ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 598-599.

¹¹⁹ *Official Records*, 1st Series, XLIII, Pt. 2, 587-588. For a more complete account see General Wallace's report to the Maryland legislature, *Maryland Senate Documents* (1865), Doc. J.; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III 598-599.

¹²⁰ The Maryland Club was considered peculiarly obnoxious to the loyal people of Maryland because of its Southern sympathy. Wallace's order providing for its use, however was later rescinded. See Myers, *Self-Reconstruction in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1909), p. 22 (note).

portance, Major Este will proceed to make a list of all the avowed rebel sympathizers resident in the City of Baltimore, with a view of levying such contributions upon them in aid of the 'Freedmen's Rest' as may be from time to time required.¹²¹

General Wallace was severely criticized for assuming such powers, since Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation did not apply to Maryland. It was contended that Maryland alone should carry out the emancipation provisions of her new Constitution. But military interference with Negroes in Maryland, whether slave or free, was not new.¹²² General Wallace believed that the abuses of the apprentice system fully justified his action. He wired Secretary of War Stanton as follows:

It is impossible to convey to you by telegraph any idea of the hundreds of abuses that have come to my knowledge of this system. I have knowledge of cases where lads of sixteen and eighteen have been bound out and then hired to their fathers, who are prosperous farmers for \$10 and \$12 a month. Both you and I are put in a false position here by stopping short now. I do not think that any one can visit these counties as I have done without seeing the importance of stopping the wholesale perversion of what is designed to be a humane law . . ."¹²³

Military officers stationed on the Eastern Shore had been ordered to give special attention to Wallace's General Order No. 112, and to put a stop to the apprenticing of young Negroes. They were empowered to arrest all masters who refused liberty to Negroes or withheld them from their parents. If, however, the apprentices desired, or their parents were unable to support them, they were to be sent to the Freedmen's Bureau in Baltimore. But whenever possible, Negro families were to be kept intact.¹²⁴

General Wallace abolished the Freedmen's Bureau in Maryland early in January, 1865, and made a report of its activities to the Legislature.¹²⁵ He gave a detailed account of all the suffering, sorrow, and injustice that the Negroes, in their helpless condition, endured at the time. In response to his report, the Legis-

¹²¹ *Official Records*, 1st Series, XLIII, Pt. 2, 587-588.

¹²² See A. H. Carpenter, *Military Government of Southern Territory, 1861-1865* (Washington, 1901), p. 474; *Official Records*, 1st Series, XLIII, Pt. 2, 587.

¹²³ Wallace to Stanton, December 11, 1864, *Official Records*, 1st Series, XLIII, Pt. 2, 777.

¹²⁴ See the letter of Assistant Adjutant General Samuel B. Lawrence, Baltimore, to Brigadier-General H. H. Lockwood, Commanding Third Separate Brigade on the Eastern Shore, December 2, 1864, *Official Records*, 1st Series, XLIII, Pt. 2, 278-279.

¹²⁵ *Maryland Senate Documents* (1865), Doc. J.

lature passed a bill removing practically all the disabilities placed on Negroes by the slave codes.¹²⁶ But the readjustment did not come until much injustice and many wrongs had been committed by both whites and blacks.¹²⁷

On January 5, 1865, Senator John A. J. Creswell of Maryland opened the debate in Congress on the constitutional amendment to eliminate slavery as an American institution.¹²⁸ He reviewed the history of slavery in Maryland from the earliest days, and said the institution had been a "most ungrateful mistress" for the State. He pointed out that

It has wasted our resources, paralyzed our industry, checked our growth in wealth, population, and all substantial interests, refused ingress to the intelligent and enterprising of other states and countries, and had even driven our own young men into exile. So far as we have advanced at all we have done so in spite of slavery, and by driving it before us. . . . Like another foul spirit, being driven out it may seek to tear her [Maryland], but who will woo her no more.

Creswell showed by census figures that Massachusetts and New Jersey had grown more in population and wealth than Maryland; he attributed this situation to the ill effects of slavery in Maryland. He said the good effects of emancipation were already in evidence. He quoted the *Baltimore American* to the effect that a steady stream of immigrants was passing into Maryland from Pennsylvania and other states. Free labor was becoming a "settled fact." Land purchases for settlement rather than for speculation had risen sharply in the counties since November 1. This aided Maryland, said Creswell, in assuming the place among free states "she should have occupied long ago."¹²⁹

¹²⁶ *Maryland Senate Journal* (1865), pp. 385-386; *Maryland House Journal* (1865), 752-753. The *Baltimore Sun*, January 11, 1865, described this act as follows: "All the disabilities which had necessarily attached to the negro as a consequence of the institution of slavery were removed with two exceptions, one disqualifying negroes from being witnesses in cases where white men were concerned, and the other authorizing negroes to be sold for crime for the same period that a white man might be confined in the penitentiary for the same offense."

¹²⁷ As late as November 1, 1866, General O. O. Howard, Chief of the National Freedmen's Bureau, stated in his report to the Secretary of War that "frequent complaints are received of outrages and atrocities without parallel committed against freedmen" in portions of Maryland. See the Secretary of War's report to Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Sess., 39th Cong., p. 750.

¹²⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Sess., 38th Cong., Pt. 1, pp. 120-124.

¹²⁹ The *Baltimore American* article, quoted by Creswell, itself quoted from the *Denton [Maryland] Union* which reported large sales in Caroline County. The *American* of September 8, 1865, quoted the *Princess Anne [Somerset County] Herald*

Secretary of War Stanton, in a reply to a resolution passed in the House of Representatives on January 17, 1865, said that commissioners had been appointed in Maryland and Delaware to disburse compensation to former slave owners. The commutation fund amounted to \$12,170,663.45, a portion of which had been assigned to help pay for bounties that soldiers had received.¹³⁰ This was pleasant news to Maryland slaveowners. They believed that they were justly entitled to such compensation, having freed their slaves by their own constitution. Governor Bradford referred to Lincoln's recommendation in March, 1862, and to the joint resolution of Congress, and declared in his message to the Legislature in 1865: "If there be any meaning in the language quoted it expressed a promise to that effect (compensation) and if any state can conscientiously claim a fulfillment of that promise, Maryland can." ¹³¹ Governor Swann pointed out in his inaugural address in 1865 that the "first and only authorized response of the people of Maryland to the offer of Congress was the abolition of slavery in accordance with the terms of the resolution." ¹³²

The Maryland legislature sent a committee to confer with President Lincoln about compensation. The legislature insisted that the congressional offer to aid states had been used to induce voters to support emancipation in Maryland. But compensation never became a reality, and slaveholders of the State suffered the loss of practically all their slave property.¹³³

The course of slavery and of emancipation in Maryland was now practically completed. The progress of the free Negro during the period of "Self-Reconstruction" belongs to another story.¹³⁴ The abolition of slavery in Maryland coincided in time

as saying that several sales of land had recently taken place in that county, at prices from 15 to 100% greater than the same land would have sold for in the preceding year. "We believe," said the *American*, "that this has been the result all over the State."

¹³⁰ Stanton to Schuyler Colfax, January 25, 1865, *Official Records*, 3rd Series, IV, 1075-1076.

¹³¹ *Maryland House Documents* (1865), Doc. A.

¹³² *Maryland House Documents* (1865), Doc. C.

¹³³ *Maryland House Journal* (1865), pp. 190, 336. For a discussion of this issue see James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (New York, 1926), pp. 402-404.

¹³⁴ W. S. Myers, *Self-Reconstruction in Maryland*, carries the story of the Negro through the trying years after the close of the war. The progress of the Negro in Maryland in 1865 is outlined in the first annual report of the "Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People," *Appleton's*, V (1865), 529-530.

with the state and national elections of 1864. In those elections, as already noted, the unrestricted control of the Unconditional Unionists or Republicans was broken in Maryland and the Democratic party was revived. This, then, marks a new day in Maryland politics—a contest between the Republicans and the Democrats for the control of the State.

(The End)

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The East India Company and the British Empire in the Far East. By MARGUERITE EYER WILBUR. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1945. 477 pp., \$7.50.

In view of the current interest in East Indian affairs, this is a timely volume. Although not generally recognized, even by historians, any exposition of British-East India relations with respect to the early years of the seventeenth century is actually complementary to the narrative of events of the same period in Anglo-American beginnings; for at the start of the seventeenth century Britain was reaching out for commerce in the Orient while striving to establish colonies in America, and not a few of the principal actors therein performed functions in both fields.

This work is in sharp contrast to a recent volume on India by Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee, which, because of the Professor's strong anti-British bias, reminds one of the early American history textbooks on the colonial and Revolutionary periods. Mrs. Wilbur, on the contrary, impartially tells of the special blessings brought to India by the British without blinking at certain periods of exploitation which was, in lesser degree, imitative of the native potentates in exploiting their own countrymen.

In America the first English settlers dealt with such savage werowances as Powhatan, Opechancanough, and Debedeavon, each having a few hundred tribal followers. In India, however, the English traders dealt with Emperors Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jehan. With the religious beliefs of the East Indians the East India Company was not concerned. In America, on the contrary, the Virginia London Company made strenuous and costly preparations for the education, uplift, and conversion of the "naturals," which efforts were summarily halted by the "General Massacre" of 1622. The story of this altruism has been almost uniformly ignored in American history, although an exception may be noted in Professor Samuel Eliot Morison's address on the three hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the signing of the *Mayflower Compact*, "The Pilgrim Fathers, Their Significance in History."

The reviewer would have been glad to note in Mrs. Wilbur's exposition more of the inter-relationships of personnel among the projectors of British enterprise in two hemispheres. She mentions briefly the "Reverend Patrick Capland" (*sic*) but does not associate him—or sundry others—with American beginnings, albeit it was in Indian waters that Copeland's sermons on converting the American Indians raised a considerable fund

towards founding the inter-racial "East India Free Schoole in Virginia," for the support of which the Virginia Company set aside one thousand acres—one of the worthy enterprises that were ended by the massacre.

The author records what may be called the "second sale of Manhattan," when she tells us that the central site of the mightiest city of modern times was exchanged by the Dutch for the island of Pularoon off the east coast of India—a marvelous bargain, from the Anglo-American point of view.

The reviewer could find no mention of Admiral Christopher Newport, of whom Boies Penrose has well said: "If Newport's voyage in the *Sarah Constant* in 1607 may be said to have laid the foundations of the United States, then his voyage with Ambassador Sir Thomas Roe in 1615 may be said to have laid the foundations of British India."

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly. Edited with an introduction by DAVID MORRIS POTTER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. 266 pp. \$3.50.

In 1943 the great Coe Collection of Western Americana was presented to the Yale Library; and as a commemorative publication the Yale University Press selected from some fifty manuscript overland journals in the collection a day-by-day account kept by two young men, Vincent Geiger and Dr. Wakeman Bryarly, members of the "Charlestown Company" which left St. Joseph, Missouri, on May 10, 1849, for the great adventure of California. The journal was kept until June 23 by Geiger; from that day to the journey's end on August 30th it is in the hand of Dr. Bryarly, a Harford Countian who, by blood-kinship and through marriage with Miss Mary Sterett Gittings, was connected with many well-known Maryland families.

Dr. Bryarly, an M. D. of the University of Pennsylvania and a veteran of the Mexican War, was surgeon of the Charlestown Company, which started the journey some eighty-two strong. Although the Company was exceptionally well organized, with every precaution taken to keep out the physically unfit, the relentless pace of the overland trip, which drove men to the limits of human capacity, the hazards of bad food and water, and the endless accidents, kept the young physician busy. His account of these vicissitudes, remarkably straightforward and articulate as it is, makes absorbingly interesting reading even in these days when the taste for exciting narrative might be thought to be somewhat jaded.

The editing of the journal has been done in masterly style by Dr. Potter, who provides a preface and a critical introduction in which the Geiger-Byarly narrative is checked against other classical overland accounts and furnished with a wealth of factual and philosophical comment. I wish it were within the scope of this short review to trace the astonishing progress of the manuscript of this diary from the home of some unworldly

Maryland gentlefolk to the vaults of the Yale Library. However, the tale, if told, would undoubtedly raise vain hopes and cause much dust to be disturbed to no purpose in quiet country attics. Such coincidences seldom happen twice.

J. G. D. PAUL

The Beleaguered City. By ALFRED HOYT BILL. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946. 313 pp. \$3.00.

Recent headlines have recorded the valiant defenses of such cities as Warsaw, London and Stalingrad against military force, and yet no city in history can hail a more gallant stand than that of Richmond of the 1861-1865 years. Its struggles to survive as a proud and symbolic social unit against pressures of enemy arms and its own shortcomings stand alone in this country's history.

Students of the military sciences will reaffirm the axiom that the destruction of armies and not cities or geographic obstacles must be the goal of generals; yet Richmond was a prime objective of McDowell, McClellan, Burnside, Hooker and Grant; it was tenaciously defended by Johnston, Beauregard, Jackson and Lee. The city of Richmond during those fateful years stood as a living symbol of the unified effort of a group of states. As early as May of 1862 it was said that "the whole city knew that, if Richmond fell, the Confederacy would fall with it."

The hopes and fears of the populace rose and fell with each tide of telegraphed reports from the battle fronts columned in the *Richmond Examiner*. Early successes brought out many gala parties at the Spotswood House and Exchange Hotel as well as in the mansions on Marshall and Broad Streets. Many of the luxuries and staples of living were made available by blockade runners; prices were rising because of scarcities and increased demands. Efforts were being made by all to mold the regiments into stronger fighting units. Even Maryland's Mrs. Bradley Johnston made a good story of how she had "out-generaled" the Governor of North Carolina in obtaining badly needed uniforms, arms and ammunition for her husband's regiment. Announcements were posted on public buildings to the effect that "recruits are now being solicited for the First Maryland Regiment."

With economic and military reverses, the Richmond scene began to change to one of unbelieving concern, of hardships and shortages; it grew to look like the beleaguered fortress that it was. Soldiers were everywhere. Guns and caissons clanked over the cobbles behind sweat-caked horses that were mere racks of bones. The hospitals were filled with wounded from The Wilderness; cemeteries grew prodigiously. Flour brought three hundred dollars a barrel. A single cabbage cost ten dollars, while sugar sold for ten dollars a pound and milk at \$2.50 a quart when it was to be had at all. Still the dances and evening band concerts went on with gaily dressed girls and young veterans of the Washington Artillery making up in gaiety what was materially lacking.

The final dark days gave the city a drab, despairing "last act costume"; yet, in the final throes, a calmness contained the inhabitants to the end. Their courage never failed.

Mr. Bill has carefully recorded each human interest detail of the four year passage after close study of diaries, letters and newspaper accounts, and has molded this great story into an inspired cyclorama of that era.

It is an epoch of steadfastness and quiet heroism. The triumph of the people over their discontent, their disappointment and their discouragement at the selfishness, bungling and mismanagement from which they suffered almost as severely as from the acts of their enemies, was their greatest achievement—that which made the four terrible years in Richmond one of the greatest episodes of American history.

EDWARD M. STRAUSS, JR.

The Last of the Cocked Hats: James Monroe and the Virginia Dynasty.

By ARTHUR STYRON. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945. xiii, 480 pp. \$3.50.

Of the Presidents who preceded Lincoln the names most familiar are Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Monroe. Few decades pass which fail to record the appearance of a book about Washington, Jefferson or Jackson. This is because they are recognized as great figures in our past.

Monroe's name is familiar for a different reason. It is linked with the hemispheric policy which bears his name. But for the Monroe Doctrine its author would be as little known to the man in the street as Millard Fillmore or Franklin Pierce. Prior to the work under review but two Monroe biographies have appeared—one in the "American Statesmen Series" by Dr. Daniel C. Gilman and one by George Morgan (1921). Neither attempts a full documentation or pretends to be definitive.

Retired in his middle fifties from the ministry, in which he was trained at The General Seminary of New York, Mr. Styron, the author, was educated at the University of North Carolina and The University of the South.

This is his second book dealing with the American scene, his first being a biography of John C. Calhoun, "The Iron Man," which appeared in 1935. As Calhoun and Monroe were not only contemporaries but also close friends much of the ground has been covered in his Calhoun.

Mr. Styron is interested in the impact of economics and sociology upon current political events and in this field are conspicuous the problems created by slavery and the growth of industrialism in New England, which brought about the Missouri Compromise, an attempt at appeasement which proved as futile to prevent the War between the States as did that at Munich to prevent World War II. This measure, together with the acquisition of Florida, the denial of the power of the Federal Government to supply money for internal improvements and the Monroe Doctrine,

dwarf Monroe's activities as Secretary of State in Madison's cabinet, especially his activities in the War of 1812, and Mr. Styron neglects the opportunity to bring them into a better perspective and to supply what both Gilman and Morgan have omitted. Although the instructions to the American Commissioners at Ghent were directed from Monroe's office, one will have to look elsewhere for an account of the gradual reshaping of the American policy which made the treaty possible.

The brief notice (pp. 325-31) accorded the War of 1812 in this work of 450 pages displays inaccuracies totally at variance with the high standard shown elsewhere in the text. Calling Fort McHenry "Fort McPherson" may be attributed to a slip in proof-reading inasmuch as in a similar paragraph in the author's Calhoun the Fort is correctly named, but other statements cannot be so readily excused. Totally lacking support are the following: That Madison placed Armstrong in supreme command when word that the British were moving on Washington; "that on the twenty-third (of August) when the British fleet was before Fort Washington and a landing force within ten miles of the capitol" the exodus from Washington began and included "the Secretary [Monroe?] and the president." The British fleet was, of course, anchored in the Patuxent. It was a British squadron that ascended the Potomac, and it did not reach Fort Washington until August 27th. The only "exodus" of the President and members of his cabinet was that from the field of battle at Bladensburg, memorialized and lampooned in the verses called "The Bladensburg Races," the author of which remains unknown to this day.

Challenging the author's statement that no one thought of defending the Bladensburg Road is Swanson's *The Perilous Fight*, recently published, in which Mr. Styron will find much about Monroe's activities calculated to further diminish his reputation as a military figure.

These, however, are minor errors compared to that which the author has committed in claiming a refusal by Gen. W. H. Winder to obey an order given him directly by Monroe after the latter had assumed command of the military forces in and around Washington at the direction of the President upon their return to the capital on August 27th. As the same claim is made by Morgan in his *Monroe* in a recital of the incident varying in details from the author's, opportunity will be seized to examine the record.

The incident deals with an order given by Monroe with reference to batteries established on the Virginia Shore of the Potomac in the vicinity of Washington and is mentioned by Dr. Gilman in his *Monroe*, who gives as his authority a memorandum to be found in the Monroe MSS. The officer named in the MSS. quoted by Gilman is not General Winder but Colonel Winder and the date is fixed as August 28th. On that date General Winder was in Baltimore where he had arrived on the evening of August 26th, having left Montgomery Court House on the morning of the same day, and to which place a letter was sent him by Armstrong from Washington on the 29th. As told by Morgan and Mr. Styron, Colonel

Winder is stepped up in rank to General Winder. Not only was General Winder at the time the incident occurred forty miles away at Baltimore, but the officer named as Colonel Winder cannot be identified, since there was no field officer named Winder who served in the War of 1812 in that rank at that time. Henry Adams in his *History*, notices the incident but indicates that the officer concerned was not named or further identified than by the initial "W." He suggests that it may have been Wadsworth (Col. Decius Wadsworth). General Winder was one officer serving in the War of 1812 who enjoyed Monroe's fullest confidence and with whom he was on terms of intimacy unbroken until Winder's untimely death in 1824. This intimacy and Winder's unswerving loyalty to Monroe, abundantly proven by the letters that passed between them, furnish additional proof that Winder could not possibly have figured in an act of insubordination resulting in his being disgracefully ordered off the field as claimed.

The author's failure to make himself familiar with the incidents of the War of 1812 impairs his work as an authority with respect to them, but it remains, nevertheless, agreeable and interesting reading.

A lengthy bibliography is furnished but it fails to include Armstrong's *Notice of the War of 1812* and Wilkinson's *Memoirs* and the writer has not had access to the Winder MSS. in the Johns Hopkins University.

The book is replete with quotations for which references are not given. It lacks both full documentation and a good index. One closes it in the conviction that a definitive life of the man who, as Dr. Gilman declares, is "inadequately appreciated" is yet to be written.

RALPH ROBINSON

Alexandria Houses, 1750-1830. By DEERING DAVIS, STEPHEN P. DORSEY, and RALPH COLE HALL. New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1946. 128 pp. \$5.00.

The chief value of this book on the domestic architecture of the town of Alexandria in Virginia is its photographs and drawings. It comprises principally a catalogue of old houses, with introductory chapters on the history and architecture of the city.

According to the authors, Alexandria was surveyed in 1749 with the assistance of George Washington, and her founders bore names that have become a source of deep pride to all Americans. "In the truest sense of the word," this was Washington's "home town." "Small wonder that little can be said of Alexandria without mentioning Washington!" There was spilled the first blood in the Civil War; nevertheless wars have left "few scars" upon the town. In the number of excellent old buildings, she is the "richest city of the middle Eastern seaboard," according to the authors, who perhaps have not visited Annapolis, Maryland.

To one trained in the history of architecture many of the technical

statements seem extravagant. Was the English Baroque really the "predominating influence on the decorative arts of Eighteenth Century North America"? The student of Quebec, New Amsterdam, Florida, New Orleans, Santa Fe and Old Mexico would be inclined to disagree. Are the "finest houses" truly "without peer among those of similar type in England" (page 15)? To anyone familiar with the English domestic scene a declaration of this kind might seem fantastic. In truth the colonies never reached the heights of great Blenheim Palace near Oxford.

Is it a fact that the "design source" of the smaller dwellings of pre-nineteenth-century date in this country "has been completely overlooked by all but Fiske Kimball in his 'Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic'" (page 16)? There are plenty of volumes covering such design source, including the reviewer's Jamestown work. It is also now known that the earliest Virginia and Maryland house plan does *not* comprise one great chamber with fireplace at each end (page 17).

Alexandria building is outstanding, according to the authors, and is almost unequalled in its devotion to transitional or "hold-over" styles—in other words the lag in building fashions was long. The authors rightly show that mid-Georgian characteristics are typical of Alexandria, and the excellent photographs tend to prove the theory. Supplementing the work are two old plats of the town, one officially drawn by Washington when seventeen years old.

The historical side of the work cannot be checked; unfortunately there are no index, bibliography or references, and there are typographical errors, like "Lord Bottourt." The three architectural restorations, one of Washington's Town House, another of Mount Vernon, appear to a professional weak and unconvincing drawings. About one-third of the photographs of the book were reproduced from the records of the Historic American Buildings Survey. Other photographs are by the expert, Frances Benjamin Johnston.

There are so many errors on the technical side that it would have improved the book if the authors had confined themselves strictly to Alexandria. However, the work is a handsome one, and, if for no other reason, was worth doing because of the authority and value of the pictures.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

Agnes Scott College.

West Virginia Place Names, Their Origin and Meaning, Including the Nomenclature of the Streams and Mountains. By HAMILL KENNY. Piedmont, West Virginia: The Place Name Press, 1945. xii, 768 pp. \$6.00.

To the ever-increasing list of monographs on American place names, *West Virginia Place Names* by Hamill Kenny is a distinguished and scholarly addition. For a long time, scholarly America has become more and more conscious of the importance of this study which gives information on men, manners, and customs and preserves words not otherwise recorded.

Toponymy is a fascinating subject. As a subject, it is valuable in itself; for place names deserve as much attention as other words in the language. Toponymy is a faithful handmaid of history and sheds useful light on obscure and well-nigh forgotten lore. As that English pioneer, the Rev. James B. Johnson, observed, place names serve a natural and legitimate curiosity in man: they reveal religious aspirations, social conditions, modes of thought, taste and feeling, and racial characteristics. To Dr. Johnson's list, we might add, place names show the pioneers' triumphs and the heroes' rewards.

As a nation, we are behind England and the Scandinavian states in the development of this field. In Sweden and Denmark there is organized research aided by the state. America has nothing to compare with *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*. Nor again have we any society to direct, guide, and synchronize our efforts as the English Place-Name Society, which recently produced its nineteenth scholarly and uniform volume on English counties. Mr. Kenny's volume will bear favorable comparison with the best American and even English works on the subject. The print is clear, the paper excellent, the binding strong; in a word, the format is attractive in every way. As for content, the book is excellent both in its matter and in its manner of presentation, the scope is sufficiently broad, and the methods are both scientific and informative. Unlike most American books on toponymy, this book has an extremely valuable index of thirty-seven pages.

West Virginia Place Names makes use of every available means of arriving at sound conclusions: atlases, gazetteers, registers, guides, lists of every description, newspapers, magazines, journals, books, telephone directories, whole series of maps especially those of the U. S. Geological Survey, the U. S. Official Postal Guide, and, where all else failed, research in person and by letter. No book of this sort can lay claim to completeness. The authority on Oregon place names, Lewis A. MacArthur, estimates that Oregon has over fifty thousand place names! Mr. Kenny's book includes the names of only the inhabited places, past or present, and the nomenclature of the streams and mountains. Though the name *West Virginia* itself is explained, it is to be regretted that county names do not appear save in another use of their names. Surely county names are within the scope of such a work. One also misses a map, preferably a large, folded map in

a pocket on the back cover, such as is customarily found in English works. Such a map could not show everything, but it would be a great help.

For the general reader as opposed to the scholar, the most useful part of Mr. Kenny's treatise is his introductory essay of sixty-five pages. Apart from the content-value of the volume, this essay deserves to be read for its own sake; for it ties together the vast number of seemingly unrelated place names into an understandable unit. This essay is concerned chiefly with the Indian, frontiersman, and pioneer as they gave their names to the land; if these groups are not all-inclusive, they none the less explain most place names. Philippi and Troy emerge without classical significance. Amongst others Buckhannon, Petersburg and Wheeling are subjects of much dispute. A large number of post offices in the state were named for women. 'Wewanta arose from the residents' cry: "We wanta post office"!

This work, projected and written over a period of twelve years, is painstaking, accurate, detailed. No doubt, it will be supplemented by additional place names from time to time; but it will not be supplanted as the West Virginia authority. One can hope that someone possessing a deep love, infinite patience, and sound scholarship will do for Maryland what Hamill Kenny has done for his native state.

Would it be out of place, in conclusion, to suggest a more practical approach to the study of place names? Place names studies have been begun with the larger units, the states. If, instead, counties were place-named first, a state place name book would involve much less labor and yet be more complete and accurate. In many ways, only the local authority is aware of the many factors involved in this study. One can hope to see many more county works like George MacReynolds' *Place Names in Bucks County, Pennsylvania*, as the ideal working units for state syntheses.

JOHN J. TIERNEY, S.S.

*St. Charles College,
Catonsville.*

The South Carolina Rice Plantation: As Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston. Edited by J[AMES] H. EASTERBY. [Prepared and published under the direction of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee of the American Historical Association] Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. xxi, 478 pp. \$5.00.

No book that helps to cut away some of the magnolia and moss from the old rice plantation can fail to be gratefully received by students of the economic and social history of the ante-bellum South. The Allston Collection of several thousand items includes personal and business letters, account books, factors' and overseers' reports, bills of sale, lists of slaves, etc. From this wealth of manuscript material Mr. Easterby has selected 489 items which are chronologically listed in a convenient calendar that follows the editor's Preface. The items printed in the text were selected

with the view to present those which best serve to mirror "the value of the record as evidence of the life on a rice plantation."

The book reveals the part played by Allston in the South Carolina political arena; first as surveyor-general of the state, later as delegate and senator in the General Assembly and finally as Governor in 1856. Throughout this 35 year period of active participation in South Carolina politics Allston espoused the principles of the states-right party. But the focal point of the documents is primarily that of Allston as rice planter during the years when that crop was such a dominant force in the economic and social life of the South Carolina coastal region. As such they are significant. Mr. Easterby, in a scholarly introduction, has summarized the general nature of the papers and supplied a digest of the extent of the plantations and their Georgetown District setting, the overseers who worked for the Allston family, the slaves, the production and marketing of the crops, and of plantation finance. The letters and other documents are printed in a chronological arrangement within the following classifications: Allston family letters, overseers' report and other documents, factors' correspondence, and a final grouping of miscellaneous documents. Individually, they are sharp in detail. Collectively, they span the period of years from 1810 to 1868. But the value of the record would have been increased if there had been a fuller representation for the periods from 1824 to 1835 and from 1839 to 1849. The footnotes are adequate and the index is satisfactory.

Here is a collection of documents that helps to illuminate the many daily problems encountered by the rice planter—problems stemming out of the relationships of slaves, overseers and planter, as well as those arising out of crop cultivation and the uncertainties of the elements. Here, too, is evidence of the place and importance of the South Carolina rice industry in the agricultural life of the nation.

Too much of what has been written about this phase of southern history is strong in romantic interpretation. The volume under review adds to the list of books about the rice plantation of the ante-bellum South, not as an addition to the romantic tradition, but rather, as a substantial documentary record of the life of the rice plantation of South Carolina.

ARTHUR A. KNAPP

The Johns Hopkins University.

Spearhead in the West, 1941-45. The Third Armored Division. [Compiled by the officers and men of the . . . Division. Frankfurt am Main: 1945] 260 pp.

"Average Americans" from all walks of life are said to have made up the Third Armored Division. The compilers of this book present an interesting and detailed account of how a citizen unit was welded into one of the nation's outstanding combat teams. The history is divided into

an explanation of the organization of the Division, a narration in popular style of the Division's war story, and an accounting of its official combat record. Excellent maps illustrate the Division's odyssey as well as many photographs. The Third Armored Division trained long and arduously in the United States and England, landed at Omaha Beach in Normandy, and smashed its way through five bitter campaigns to the Elbe River before final victory. A unit of the 1st Army, the Third Armored Division has a lengthy list of proud accomplishments. The book presents a vivid picture of modern war.

H. R. MANAKEE

Marylanders in Italy. Compiled by JAMES LOUIS WINGATE, Public Relations Section, Fifth Army. Centreville: Queen Anne's Publishing Company, 1945. 139 pp.

The author of this booklet outlines very concisely the course of the difficult Italian Campaign from the landings at Salerno and Paestum until the surrender of the German Armies in northern Italy on May 2, 1945. He then lists by name, rank and unit, Marylanders, who served in Italy together with sketches of the battles in which they fought, or descriptions of the service tasks in which they engaged. In his difficult task, the author has seemingly succeeded in building a rather complete roster of Marylanders in the ground forces. Personnel of the Army Air Corps and of the United States Navy are not covered.

H. R. M.

Florida During the Territorial Days. By SIDNEY WALTER MARTIN.

Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1944. ix, 308 pp. \$3.00.

Florida Becomes A State. Ed. at Florida State Library. Tallahassee:

Florida Centennial Commission, 1945. xi, 481 pp. \$3.50.

The celebration of Florida's Centennial in 1945 was the inspiration for a number of publications about the State and various periods of its history. Dr. Martin's work, *Florida During the Territorial Days*, covers the quarter of a century between Spanish occupation and arrival at statehood. It discusses in order the arrival of the Americans, the military governorship of Andrew Jackson, the politics of the period, and the administration of Governor William P. Duval. Then the question of lands, the social and economic transition (with interesting comments on crops and industries), internal improvements (including railroads and banks), frontier towns, and the Indian problem, each receives full treatment. Finally, the movement for statehood and its successful culmination in 1845 after several years of effort brings the volume to an appropriate conclusion. It is apparent from the footnotes that newspaper files provided much material, although the Bibliography lists numerous manuscript collections and church records, as well as the usual secondary and monographic sources. The book is entirely readable—not always the case with such studies—and there is a good index.

Florida Becomes A State is more of a reference book or collection of source materials. There is a Foreword, "Social Life in Florida in 1845," by W. T. Cash, State Librarian, which describes briefly the status of homes, religion, education, recreations, crime, travel, dress, and folklore at the time Florida entered the Union. The agitation for statehood, the St. Joseph Convention, and the struggle for admission are discussed by Dorothy Dodd, Archivist in the Florida State Library. She has edited the documents, which fill four-fifths of the volume, and of which the proceedings of the St. Joseph Convention in December, 1838, form a large part. This material is important for those who wish to delve in the history of Florida for the given period, but its appeal is more or less limited.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

History of the Woman's Club of Govans . . . By FRANCES SIDWELL BENSON. [Baltimore: The Club] 1945. [98 pp.]

This is the story of an organization which has been more than an active and flourishing club. It is a picture as well of growth and development in one of the populous communities in the Baltimore area, especially of improvement in living conditions and cultural advantages. The account is presented through the various activities of the Club such as library, music, civics, legislation and public welfare work. Through the whole, however, runs the thread of organized effort on behalf of every worthy undertaking for the community's good. The early Neighborhood Improvement Club, predecessor of the Woman's Club, devoted itself to better water and sidewalks as the present membership devotes itself to literature, art and horticulture.

JAMES W. FOSTER

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

A Checklist of Pennsylvania Newspapers. Vol. I: Philadelphia County. Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey . . . W. P. A., Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1944. xiii, 321 pp.

Henry Barnard's American Journal of Education. By RICHARD EMMONS THURSFIELD. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Ser. LXIII, No. 1). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1945. 359, xiv pp. \$3.75.

The Newspaper, Its Making and Its Meaning. By Members of the Staff of The New York Times . . . New York: Scribner, 1945. [viii] 207 pp. \$2.00.

Sergeant S. Prentiss, Whig Orator of the Old South. By DALLAS C. DICKEY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1945. [ix] 422 pp. \$4.00.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Eighteenth Century Charts of the Chesapeake—Any information about Captain Walter Hoxton and his chart of Chesapeake Bay, London, 1735, or about Anthony Smith, pilot of St. Mary's, and his chart of Chesapeake Bay, London, 1776, would be very much appreciated by

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON,
Box 1387, Williamsburg, Va.

Maryland Genealogy—Attention is again called to the prize for the most generally useful genealogical compilation which will be awarded by the Society under the endowment set up last winter by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker. The income from the sum of \$1,000 which Mrs. Parker has donated, amounting to perhaps \$30, will be awarded to the compiler of the best manuscript received by the Society during 1946. The judges will be Mr. William B. Marye, chairman, Mrs. Thomas S. George and the Director of the Society. The material submitted should be in typed form, clearly organized, and must treat some family identified with Maryland. By "most useful" is meant a pedigree that will assist many searchers in this area. The closing date for entries is December 31, 1946.

THE COVER PICTURE

To accompany the articles in this number which mention Annapolis at the time of the Revolution and afterward, a lithograph of the State House and nearby buildings has been chosen for the cover. While not contemporary, the view was made not much more than a half-century later and probably can be considered an accurate representation. It is to be noted, however, that the State House dome was not built until after the Revolution.

The buildings shown are, left to right, a residence, State House, Armory, unidentified structure, and old Assembly House, later the Treasury.

The view was published by E. Weber and Company of Baltimore and appeared as a frontispiece for David Ridgely's *Annals of Annapolis* (1841).

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